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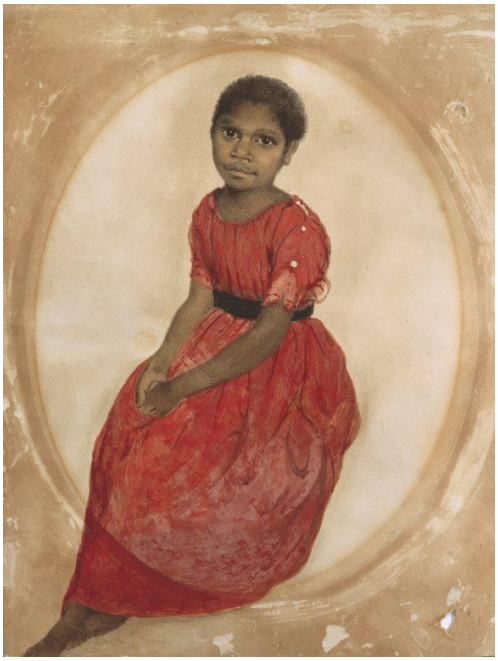

Mathinna watercolour by Thomas Bock in 1842 when she was about 7 years old

The “saving” of Maori and Aboriginal children from the 1830s to the 1860s

Theories, practice and consequences of the assimilation of children in Australia and New Zealand, as perceived by British settlers

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Introduction

One can notice the presence of the lexical field of filiation in legal texts and settlers' journals during the 19th century to underline the relation between the United Kingdom and its colonies. The fourth paragraph of the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand in 1835, which was signed by James Busby on behalf of the Crown and by Maori[1] chiefs, is as follows:

> "4. They [the Maoris] also agree to send a copy of this Declaration to His Majesty, the King of England, to thank him for his acknowledgement of their flag; and in return for the friendship and protection they have shown, and are prepared to show, to such of his subjects as have settled in their country, or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they entreat that he will continue to be the parent of their infant State, and that he will become its Protector from all attempts upon its independence."[2]

The King and, by extension, the United Kingdom were the "parent of their infant State |New Zealand]." This filial link implied a transmission of knowledge and culture from England to New Zealand. This text also shows that the Maori tribes were considered unfit by the United Kingdom to rule and protect themselves, and that they needed guidance and help from the United Kingdom. As parents educate their children, the United Kingdom would educate the Indigenous and lead them into the path of civilisation. Adult Indigenous in Australia and New Zealand were considered as children and often treated as such because of their supposed inferiority. In a parliamentary debate that took place on 19th June 1845, these paternalistic ideas and this sense of racial superiority regarding the Maoris were expressed by James Mangles[3]:

> […] in such a country as New Zealand, where Englishmen have to govern a population unquestionably far inferior to them, not only in material civilisation, but in every branch of knowledge, in morals, and in religion, I must confess that it appears

[1] The word "Maori" will be used to talk about the native inhabitants of New Zealand, in opposition to the word "Pakeha", which refers to the early white settlers. The term "New Zealanders" can include both native inhabitants and settlers.

[2] *The Declaration of Independence*, 1835. The English version was written by James Busby. As for the Treaty of Waitangi from 1840, the question of the translation is still debated. 'He Whakaputanga - Declaration of Independence, 1835', URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/the-declaration-of-independence, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 17-Oct-2017, consulted 22/03/2021.

[3] An English politician: member of the Parliament and director of the New Zealand Company.

> to me that our relative duties are of a paternal character; and that consideration for the real and permanent welfare of the aborigines demands that they should, for a time, be treated as children, to be protected from their own foolish and evil habits, as well as from the injustice of others. [4]

During the 19th century, theories of the classification of races (based for example on craniometry) were used to "prove" the superiority of Europeans on other races.[5] Maoris were considered superior to Australian Aboriginals[6] but still inferior to Europeans.[7] This supposed superiority of the settlers was used to justify the treatment of indigenous peoples. In Australia for example, their lands were taken because they were considered unable to use them as agricultural lands. By considering natives as inferior to them and treating them as children, British settlers thought it was their duty to help them rise from a barbarous to an enlighten state.

Australia and New Zealand were the remotest colonies of the British Empire when their colonisation began at the end of the 18th century. Their geographical proximity and the comparisons drawn between the two colonies in settlers accounts or reports make them a revealing subject for a comparative study. The ethnological differences and rank in the racial hierarchy were used to justify the difference of treatments between the Maoris and the Aboriginals. Geographically speaking, their different sizes led to different policies of assimilation and colonisation. Settlers also arrived in these colonies for different reasons and at different times. The colonisation of New Zealand was only organised by Great Britain after the Waitangi Treaty in 1840, when Australia was already a penal colony since 1788. The choice of these two countries

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[4] New Zealand—Adjourned Debate (Third Night), Volume 81: debated on Thursday 19 June 1845, consulted on *Hansard,* accessed 23rd, February 2021.

[5] Kociumbas, Jan. *The Oxford History of Australia, Possessions 1770-1860*, vol 2, 1995, p. 276: "In 1819 English anatomists Charles White and William Laurence, after a major comparative study of human brains, bones and teeth, alleged that a great distinction existed between the mental ability of 'civilised' nations of Europe and what they called 'the naked shivering and starved New Hollanders' and others 'barbarous' tribes."

[6] In settlers' accounts, the words "Aborigine" or "Aboriginal" are often used, mainly to talk about Australian Aboriginals, but taken more broadly, these terms can refer to any native inhabitants of a land, prior to colonisation. "Native" was used by colonists at that time, in this essay the word Indigenous will be used indistinctly to refer to Australian Aboriginals or Maoris.

[7] Angas, George French. *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, 1835, p. 317: "The women occupy a far higher position amongst the New Zealanders than they do with the aboriginal tribes of Australia; by whom the sex is degraded and despised to the lowest degree, — a sure mark of the inferior grade of those people in the scale of humanity."

for a comparative study is also relevant, because until 1841, New Zealand was administrated by the colony of New South Wales.[8]

By comparing the policies of assimilation of Maoris and Aboriginals, one can notice the difference of colonisation in New Zealand and Australia. Even if there were missionaries and schools in both colonies, the treatments and considerations of native peoples were very different – as were the results of these policies, according to settlers and missionaries. The aim of this essay is to show the disparities and the common points between the place of children in policies of assimilation in Australia and New Zealand. As Joan Higgins argues, "the most important reason for engaging in comparative research is that it encourages a distinction between the general and the specific."[9] The study of children and their role during colonisation cannot be reduced to the study of only one colony. Each colony of the British Empire, be it South Africa, Canada, New Zealand or Australia, faced different colonial strategies and even within these countries, specificities can be observed in the application of these strategies. Concerning Australia and New Zealand, British citizenship was granted to Maoris with the Treaty of Waitangi, but Aboriginals were not recognized as occupants of the land and were denied their right to the soil by the British government.[10]

Policies of assimilation of the "Natives", as settlers called them, started in the 1830s and continued in various form until the middle of the 20th century. The Aboriginals and the Maoris were to be "assimilated" in the British society, which means that they were to adopt British customs, laws, way of life, language and religion to fit in the society. If native peoples could be assimilated into British society in the colonies, they could represent a supplementary workforce in these newly exploited countries.[11] Education was one of the main tools of assimilation. Adults could attend school and then spread their knowledge of English and religion. Adults could be educated too, but it was considered easier to teach children. They were supposedly more malleable. They were blank pages on which the European settlers could impress their own culture and religion. Children could be removed from their families and taught secular knowledge like English, geography or arithmetic and they also received a religious education. The removal of children became more

[8] Roe, Michael, et al. "Australia". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/place/Australia. Accessed 18th, March 2021.
[9] Higgins, Joan. *States of Welfare*, 1981, p. 12, quoted in Armitage Andrew, *Comparing the Policy Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, 1995, p. 20.
[10] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, 1995. "Australia began by denying the aboriginal presence, Canada by registering all "status «Indians, and New Zealand by giving all Maori British citizenship." Abstract, p. 1.
[11] Kociumbas, *Possessions*, 1995, p. 148.

frequent in the 1860s with the laws of education which passed in New Zealand in 1867 with the *Native School Act* and in Australia, specifically in Victoria in 1869 with *Aborigines Protection Act*. Children were to be completely immersed in English culture and have very few or no contact with their families.[12] This method was considered more effective to assimilate them. With these laws, the teaching of children was encouraged and organised by the State and no longer by relatively independent missionaries. This essay will mainly focus on the period from 1830s to the 1860s, before these laws were passed in order better to understand the attitudes and experiments in practice which led up to this legislation. Local missions in New Zealand and Australia were in charge of teaching children as soon as the first traders and settlers arrived on the islands at the beginning of the 19th century and before the mid-1860s, when educational laws were voted.[13] The missionaries were animated by a will to save children and Indigenous peoples from what they considered a barbarous state. Christian imperialism put forward the saving of their souls. Since they all were the children of God, they needed to be converted to Christianity. The missionaries, Wesleyan, Anglican or Roman Catholic being the most prominent groups, as early as the beginning of the 19th century, spread the words of God and taught the "right faith" to Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand with different results in each country. Indeed, the Maoris appeared to be more responsive to this new religion, as the number of converts or the attendance of missionary schools show. The spread of Anglican or Catholic religions was also viewed as a way to protect children from their own tribes. In Australia and New Zealand, children were seen as victims of their peoples because of infanticide and cannibalism. Teaching native children was seen as a noble cause: they were given an opportunity to learn English and the right faith, to later be part of the British society.

But this assimilation was inextricably bound to a process of destruction of native cultures. These cultures were often transmitted orally, which means that removing the children from their tribes or families means suppressing a crucial link in the transmission of these cultures. Colonisation and assimilation policies were responsible for the ethnocides, or cultural genocide in Australia and New Zealand and other colonies like Canada for example. In Australia, this ethnocide was paired with a genocide with the massacre of native tribes. The notion of genocide did not exist at the time of these massacres and the Australian genocide is not officially recognised by the United Nations, even if the systematic extermination of Aboriginal peoples (especially of

[12] E. W., Parsonage. 'The education of Maoris in New Zealand'. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 65, no. 1, Polynesian Society, 1956, pp. 5–11.

[13] They kept having a local influence after the educational laws, but they were no longer the main tool to assimilation.

Tasmania) and the forcible transfer of "children of the group to another group" fit the definition of a genocide.[14] Some of the massacres were allowed by martial laws such as during the Black War from the 1820s to 1832 in Tasmania. Settlers were allowed, allegedly in order to protect themselves, to kill Aborigines. Children were often casualties in these attacks.[15] So even if settlers and official reports tend to show colonisation as a blessing for children, one must not forget how detrimental assimilation was to Indigenous peoples. The good will to protect Maoris and Aboriginals and most importantly their children, which was expressed in parliamentary debates or reports, often clashed with the policies which were put in place in the colonies. In the Select Committee Report on Aboriginal Tribes from 1837, settlers recognised the negative effects of colonisation on the natives such as diseases leading to their decline, the loss of their lands or the mistreatment they faced, but little was done afterwards to prevent this destruction of indigenous peoples and of their cultures and to stop the dispossession of their lands.

Settlers' accounts and journals provide a great variety of testimonies of encounters with the Indigenous and with their children. In the first accounts at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the encounters were briefer and more superficial than in the mid-19th century, so children – and women – were not focused on. The travellers or settlers mainly talked about the indigenous peoples as a whole and about their customs. Accounts of the success or failures of missionaries in teaching and converting the natives were also numerous, especially in New Zealand. Some settlers were also members of the Aborigines protection society or the Select Committee on Aborigines, such as George Grey, who was also governor of South Australia and later of New Zealand (1845). The rank of the journals' writers and the use of these journals by the local governments and the British Parliament gave their testimonies credit. It also made these journals political because they were used to determine which policies were necessary.

Primary sources:

[14] UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: "In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:(a) Killing members of the group;(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part;(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." Quoted in Armitage, Andrew, Comparing the *Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia Canada, New Zealand*, p. 6.

[15] Kociumbas, Jan. *Possessions 1770-1860,* p. 180. Kociumbas takes the example of an infant, who had been thrown into the fire by a settler in a conflict in the Appin region.

Settlers' journals constitute the main basis of this study on the saving of children in Australia and New Zealand. However, the prejudices that impregnate them make them partial. These journals are varied and reflect the personal views and conditions of their writers. Settlers in Australia and New Zealand did not form a homogenous class: they were traders (like Polack, for example), politicians (like George Grey or William Thomas[16]), convicts (like Buckley who is quoted in James Bonwick's work), or missionaries (like Tuckfield[17] in Australia or Maunsell[18] in New Zealand). It means that their approaches, considerations, and expectations regarding the indigenous peoples were different, which makes them interesting to compare. Nevertheless, common points can be drawn: the accounts are often biased by prejudices, which were sometimes admitted and criticised; and the sense of European's racial superiority, which was deeply rooted in the 19th century was always acknowledged. The settlers also adopted in their journals a paternalistic tone. During the 19th century, paternalism guided the colonial policies in Australia and New Zealand. The use of these journals for political purpose also contributes to increase the distance one needs to take while working with such sources. Moreover, travel narratives were popular in the 19th century for their exoticism. Settlers' accounts on the colonies gave an idea of the life in the British colonies to those who remained in the mother country and they sometimes chose to amplify some aspects and diminish others.

Various settlers wrote on New Zealand and Australia. That was for example the case with George French Angas, who travelled in Australia and in New Zealand and published his account *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* in 1847. He was an advocate for the

[16] William Thomas was assistant protector of the Port Phillip District under the direction of G. A Robinson. He was as fervent Wesleyan, and his journals will be used in this essay, especially his thoughts on infanticide. Mulvaney, D. J. 'Thomas, William (1793–1867)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thomas-william-2727/text3845

[17] Francis Tuckfield (1808-1865) was a Wesleyan missionary who tried to convert the Aboriginals of the Port Phillip District. He created the Buntingdale mission in 1838 and was convinced that the civilisation and Christianisation of Indigenous peoples depended on their separation with white settlers and most importantly, convicts. McCallum, C. A. 'Tuckfield, Francis (1808–1865)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tuckfield-francis-2747/text3887

[18] Robert Maunsell was a missionary who regarded schools as 'the pivot and springs of mission success', and by 1846 he enthusiastically supported Bishop G. A. Selwyn's self-supporting 'industrial' boarding schools, where pupils lived in European style, taking this influence back to their villages. The Maunsells established such a school at Maraetai in 1847. Maunsell's idea of schooling will be studied in the second and third part of this essay. Maunsell also translated the Bible in Maori. Nathan, J. M. 'Maunsell, Robert', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m28/maunsell-robert (accessed 14 June 2021)

ranking of races and put the Aboriginals at the very bottom of the ladder.[19] He considered that the treatment of the women was a sign of inferiority and when he compared them to the Maoris, he implied that the latter ranked higher.[20] His father, George Fife contributed to the *Report of Parliament Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes* from 1837. He was "a naturalist and a painter" and travelled between Australia and New Zealand from 1843 to 1847. He painted the flora and fauna of both islands, sceneries, native weapons and Aboriginals.[21] From all of the journals that will be used in this essay, Angas' is one of the most critical towards the Aboriginals and the Maoris. He placed a strong emphasis on infanticide and on the "lack of civilisation" of the natives. In his preface, he made it clear that

> in countries only now emerging from a primitive state of barbarism […] the energy and enterprise of British colonists, and the benign influence of Christianity combined, will eventually render the peaceful abodes of civilized and prosperous communities.[22]

The colonisation of these countries (New Zealand and Australia) and the spread of Christianity were ways to elevate the "natives" and save them from their "state of barbarism".[23] He did not think that the Indigenous could not be educated, and he expressed his hopes in seeing them civilised.

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[19] "One of the surest marks of the low position of the Australian savage in the scale of the human species, is the treatment of their women. The men walk along with a proud and majestic air; behind them, crouching like slaves, and bearing heavy burdens on their backs, with their little ones astride on their shoulders, come the despised and degraded women." G.F Angas. *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, p. 82.

[20] Ibid. "The women occupy a far higher position amongst the New Zealanders than they do with the aboriginal tribes of Australia; by whom the sex is degraded and despised to the lowest degree, — a sure mark of the inferior grade of those people in the scale of humanity." p. 317.

[21] Morgan, E. J. R. 'Angas, George French (1822–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angas-george-french-1708/text1857, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 25 April 2021.

[22] Angas, George French. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, preface.

[23] Barbarism either means "the practice or display of barbarian acts, attitudes or ideas", in the case of indigenous peoples it refers to cannibalism, infanticide or even mutilation of the body –with tattoos for example– or it means more generally, "an idea, act, or expression that in form or use offends against contemporary standards of good taste or acceptability". The last meaning can be applied to Angas's preface. It underlines what would be called today the cultural clash that the settlers faced when they met indigenous tribes.

One of the most important account about Australia is George Grey's. Being appointed governor of South Australia in 1840 and of New Zealand in 1845, his writings had a political purpose, and he expressed his wishes to see the Maoris and the Aboriginals civilised. He also witnessed and condemned the wrongs Aboriginal peoples were suffering. He was aware of the prejudices that were rooted in the English society:

> If we enquire into the causes which tend, it retain them in their present depressed condition, we shall find that the chief one is—' *prejudice*.' The Australians have been most unfairly represented as a very inferior race, in fact as one occupying a scale in the creation which nearly places them on a level with the brutes, and some years must elapse, before a prejudice so firmly rooted as this can be altogether eradicated.[24]

He arrived in Australia in 1838 and started exploring Western Australia. Grey advocated for a compulsory "amalgamation" of the Aboriginals in his "Report upon the best Means of Promoting the Civilisation of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia" in the second volume of his *Journals of Two Expeditions of discovery in North-West and Western Australia during the year 1837, 38, and 39*, published in 1841. This report was also sent to the other governors in the colonies. He thought that the "saving" of native peoples and by extension of their children, could be achieved by the education of their children in boarding schools, their conversions, and by bringing them under the British law.[25] He developed an interest in Aboriginal cultures and he published a *Vocabulary of the Dialects spoken by the Aboriginal Races of South-Western Australia* and a *Collections of Maori and Aboriginal legends*[26]. He developed many schools in New Zealand and Australia (and later in South Africa), but noted that the Aboriginals drifted back toward their tribes at adolescence, what compromised his dream of compulsory assimilation and showed that his optimistic views contrasted with the success of the policies he instigated.

Another account of Australia that will be used in this essay is the collection of notes of James Bonwick. *The wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria* is a collection of testimonies and quotations from other settlers or political figures like John Batman, William Buckley or Protector

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[24] Grey, George. *Journals of Two Expeditions of discovery in North-West and Western Australia during the year 1837, 38, and 39,* vol II, p. 367.

[25] 'Grey, Sir George (1812–1898)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/grey-sir-george-2125/text2691, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 29 March 2021.

[26] Ibid.

Parker (to quote a few) paired with his own comments. Bonwick was a teacher and was appointed in May 1841 to manage a school in Hobart Town. He was a fervent defender of prohibitory laws. In his writings, he argued that "strong drink", which was one of the evils introduced by the white settlers in aboriginal tribes, was responsible for the regression of Aboriginal peoples. He played an important role in select committees on education, defending his belief in moral regeneration, that could be achieved with educational facilities.[27]

On New Zealand, Polack accounts are considered an impartial reference. Joel Samuel Polack arrived in New Zealand in 1831. He was a trader of timber and flax and was in relation with the Maoris, from whom he purchased land. He wrote journals about his experience in New Zealand: *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*, published in 1838 and in *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders: with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants, with numerous cuts drawn on wood*, published in 1840. He was an early British Jewish settler who came to New Zealand in 1831, before the colonisation of New Zealand was organised by the British government. He advocated for an organised colonisation as a way to save the Maoris, who he said, would welcome civilisation. The second account was used to promote the life in New Zealand and to encourage a systematic colonisation that could be organised by the "mother country".[28]

Paring Polack's accounts were Arthur Saunders Thomson's, who seemed more critical toward the Maoris. In *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present: savage and civilised*, he wrote: "the New Zealanders have the minds of children and the passions of men".[29] He appeared confident in the amalgamation of the Maoris and English societies, but the war in the 1860s undermined his hopes. Nevertheless, his history of New Zealand provided a reliable basis for later works on the history of New Zealand.[30]

Parliamentary sources and official reports:

[27] Featherstone, Guy. 'Bonwick, James (1817–1906)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bonwick-james-3022/text4429, published first in hardcopy 1969, accessed online 25 April 2021.

[28] Chisholm, Jocelyn. 'Polack, Joel Samuel'*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p18/polack-joel-samuel (accessed 25 April 2021)

[29] Thomson, A.S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present: savage and civilized,* 1859, p. 84.

[30] Belgrave, Michael. 'Thomson, Arthur Saunders', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated July 2014. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t95/thomson-arthur-saunders (accessed 25 April 2021)

Settlers' journals were sometimes used in parliamentary debates and the writers of these journals often played a political role in Select Committees or in parliamentary commissions. The *Report of the Select committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, from 1837 will also be used in this essay because it constitutes one of the first text to reflect on the "effects of fair dealing, combined with Christian instruction on Aborigines". It reflects on possible ways to protect the indigenous populations and prevent their extinction.

About Christian instruction, the *Report of the Church Missionary Society, Missions of the Church Missionary society at Kishnaghur and in New Zealand* from 1840 informs us of the religious education and the number of converts in New Zealand.

Outline:

In the 1830s, the indigenous population of New Zealand and Australia were perceived as "dying races." The causes of population decline were multiple and caused debates. Ironically, the "saving" was made necessary and was orchestrated by the Europeans who were responsible for the disappearance of Indigenous peoples because of the diseases they brought or because of the slaughters some of them committed. Nevertheless, an urge to "save" these populations from extinction was felt by humanitarian colonists. The saving of the children became the key to the saving of the entire populations. How, and with what results, were colonial theories regarding the "saving" of indigenous children influenced by racial prejudices of the 19th century put into practice during the mid-nineteenth century in different colonial settings?

Saving the children was a three-edged mission and this essay will follow these three dimensions, studying in each of them the theories, the application of laws to "save" the children and the consequences of these applications on the indigenous populations. First, there was the literal saving of children's bodies, with their saving from infanticide. Then, there was the saving of their minds which could be achieved by secular education based on what was taught to children in the United Kingdom: English, arithmetic, geography and most importantly as time passed, industrial skills. And lastly there was the saving of their souls, the holy mission of the missionaries, which was to convert them, make them the children of God by teaching them the reading of the Bible and to civilise them, to instil in them the white man's morality. The saving of their minds and their souls, that is to say the secular and religious educations, were before the 1860s and the educational laws, taught in the same schools directed by missionaries, which proves how intertwined were the different aspects of this saving.

1. The saving of children from the threat of infanticide

Many settlers from our corpus talk at length about infanticide. It is important to remember that these detailed accounts of infanticide did not necessarily occur, even if it cannot be discussed that infanticide was indeed practiced by native peoples of Australia and New Zealand.[31] Some of these accounts of infanticide were transmitted orally, some were hypothetical, and it is difficult to check if details have been added or if these accounts are factual. Infanticide was not witnessed directly by the settlers and factual proof were difficult to find considering the fact that the rate of infantile mortality was very high because of the diseases. What is interesting to see is how the settlers described this practice and why, and also the effect it created on the readers of this time.

[31]Stephens, Marguerita. 'Infanticide at Port Phillip: Protector William Thomas and the Witnessing of Things Unseen'. *Aboriginal History*, vol. 38, ANU Press, 2014. "That occasional infanticides have occurred in Aboriginal communities, as in most other communities, is likely", p. 109, footnote 3.

1.1. The representation of infanticide in settlers' accounts

Infanticide is the act of killing a child in the first days after his/her birth. The writers of these journals lengthily describe the way it was practiced, the reasons that pushed mothers to commit it and at what time after the birth it took place. They either write about infanticide in these journals to describe a practice, or they use these descriptions to underline the "savagery", "primitivity" of native peoples. During the 19th century Maoris and Aboriginals were labelled cannibals and infanticides by the Europeans. They were considered as violent peoples, led by their passions. As Arthur Saunders Thomson argues, "the New Zealanders have the minds of children and the passions of men."[32]

1.1.1. The "perception" of infanticide

a) A practice pairing cannibalism

Polack contributed to the representation in people's mind of the Maoris as a people committing infanticide. However, Polack's account also contributes to break tenacious prejudices. On the one hand, he contributes to perpetuate the imagery on infanticide because he was positive that it was commonly practised, even though he never witnessed it himself he quoted Maori women who, supposedly, had committed it; on the other hand, he did not represent the Maoris as a bloodthirsty race and demythified their representation as a violent or cruel people. He argued that he never saw a child abused and that even slave children were "much caressed by their masters and mistresses, and [were] often adopted, and of course, emancipated."[33] These statements are far from the 19th century traditional representations of Maoris as a cannibal and quarrelsome people. Opposing these statements on the treatments of children in New Zealand, are Bonwick's accounts of Australia. The contrast between these two writers shows the difference of considerations between Maoris and Aboriginals. Bonwick insisted on their representation as cannibals. He lengthily quoted Mr. Sutherland who was said to have witnessed a scene of cannibal feast:

> The Barrabool tribe had captured an old man and a young girl belonging to the Lake Colac tribe, whom they had unjustly charged with the murder of their friend Gellibrand. The child was killed and roasted, and the fat employed for macassar oil. Some of the warm flesh was laughingly offered to the Englishmen; Dr. Cotter, *we believe,* brought away part of the thigh as an evidence of the fact. Half-a-

[32] Thomson, A. S., *The story of New Zealand: past and present: savage and civilized*, 1859, p. 84.
[33] Polack, J. S. *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders: with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants, with numerous cuts drawn on wood*, Vol II, 1840, p. 54.

> dozen children, left as a pledge of friendship with the wild Gipps Land tribe, were killed and devoured by their careful guardians.[34]

Bonwick insisted on the fact that children were victims of the quarrels between tribes and also represented the Aboriginals as deceitful. Thus, he implied that Indigenous peoples were responsible of their own decline, killing their own children or other tribes' children. Even it was not, in the strict sense of the term, a case of infanticide, it still showed that children were victims from their tribes. Regardless their age, children were victims of wars and quarrels between the different tribes. The pairing of infanticide with cannibalism reinforced the atrocity of these accounts and made the children appear as tragic victims of barbarous traditions who needed to be saved from the de danger that their families represented. Infanticide appeared to be polymorphic in settlers accounts, who put forward different reasons for its perpetration and different ways of committing it, but they always pointed to the same culprits, mothers, and to the same victims, children.

As Marguerita Stephens argues, "Along with cannibalism, infanticide has stood as a leitmotif for the perceived savagery and, at times, the sub-humanity, of the Australians just as it has done for other inhabitants of the non-metropolitan world."[35] The emphasis put on infanticide by settlers reinforce the representation of indigenous peoples as violent and bloodthirsty and most importantly as inferior to the Europeans.

b) The infanticidal mother

According to settlers' journals from Australia and New Zealand, infanticide was often committed by the mothers. The difference between mothers and fathers was perceptible in Polack's accounts: when the father was "devotedly fond of their children", "Infanticide was often committed by the New Zealand mother."[36] On the number of mothers having practiced infanticide he wrote: "I have reason to believe that, at least, every fourth woman who I was acquainted with, and had borne several children, had been guilty of this unnatural crime."[37]

Women committing infanticide in his accounts were depicted as remorseless. When he tried to convince them of the atrocity of this practice, they defended it:

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[34] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* Fergusson & Moore, 1863, p. 50.
[35] Stephens, Marguerita. 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 109.
[36] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*, 1838, p. 374 and p. 380.
[37] *Ibid*. p. 381.

> On taxing some females with having committed infanticide, they laughed heartily at the serious manner in which I put the question. They told me the poor infants did not know or care much about it. One young woman, who had recently destroyed a female infant, said that she wished her mother had done the same to her, when she was young; "For why should my infant live?" she added; "to dig the ground! to be a slave to the wives of her husband! To be beaten by them and trodden under foot! No! can a woman here protect herself, as among the white people; and should I not have trouble enough to bring up girls, when they can only cry and make a noise?"[38]

The reason which is here advanced by the mothers is that her daughter would have lived a miserable life, and by taking it, she—in a way— protected her. As Marguerita Stephens argues, infanticide was used to represent indigenous women as savages when cannibalism was used to represent men as savages.[39] The victims of these barbarous acts were the children, who were said to be killed and/or eaten by their parents.

c) The way it was committed and the main victims

The way infanticide was committed by New Zealand mothers was lengthily described by Polack. He described the different ways to kill an infant based on what the mothers told him, but he never witnessed it himself. The child could be destroyed either by being drowned, being strangled, the temples being pressed or – the most common way – by pressing the nose between two fingers, which is called in Maori "the *romia*."[40] Paradoxically, he argued later in his journal that

> Abortion is often practised by the native mother; the methods made use of are various, and certain in their effects, but admit not of being committed to writing. Other practices, that even render the above crime nugatory, are indulged in; but are rarely confessed by these people to Europeans.[41]

Abortion in Polack's accounts appeared as a worse crime than infanticide, and if women were willing to talk so openly about infanticide, they refused to talk about abortion to Polack.
The victims of infanticide marks one of the differences between New Zealand and Australia, according to the settlers. In the case of New Zealand, Polack argues: "boys are seldom destroyed".[42] As appearing in this quote, girls were the main victims of infanticide. As shown

[38] *Ibid*. p. 381.
[39] Stephens, Marguerita, 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 109.
[40] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures*, 1838, pp. 381-2.
[41] *Ibid*. p. 383.
[42] *Ibid*. p. 382.

previously, daughters seemed to have been more frequently killed at birth because of the life they would lead in their tribes.[43] In Australia, George French Angas drew the same conclusion: "Infanticide is commonly practised immediately after birth; girls being the most frequent victims of this horrible custom."[44]

The point of difference between Australia and New Zealand is around the killing of half-caste children. They occupy a particular place in the colonial history. They are the symbol of the mingling of the colonised and the colonisers. As we will see in the part about education, they also represent the more educable children compared with the "pure-blood" indigenous. The mingling of Indigenous and Europeans was also considered a softer tool for assimilation. However, half-castes did not occupy the same place in Australia and New Zealand, which shows that these indigenous peoples reacted differently to colonial strategies. Indeed, half-castes in Australia seem to be victims of infanticide whereas in New Zealand, the settlers' accounts show that the half-castes, the products of the mingling of Europeans and Maori, were a symbol of peaceful assimilation of the Maoris.

> Several of the daughters of influential chiefs have entered into a marriage alliance with Europeans, and the offspring of these marriages are perhaps the finest half-castes in the world. Ngeungeu, the daughter of Tara or Irirangi, a chief of the Nga ti tai tribe, became the wife of one Thomas Maxwell, an industrious and enterprising settler. […] The Government interpreter is also married to a native woman. […] She has proved herself an excellent wife, and has several children, whom she keeps remarkably neat and clean, and sends daily to school at Auckland, where they receive an English education.[45]

Half-caste children in New Zealand symbolizes the hopes of creating a "new race", the embodiment of both Maori and British cultures. On the contrary, in Australia, it seems that half-castes were the embodiment, for indigenous peoples, of the colonisers. The killing of half-caste appeared as a way to express their refusal of colonisation. The *Report of the Victoria Church of England Assembly* of 1856 quoted in Bonwick's account argued that

[43] The treatment of women in Maori and Aboriginal societies is often discussed in settlers' journals. Gender relations were used to determine the place of indigenous peoples in the ranking of races.
[44] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, 1847, p. 113.
[45] *Ibid*. p. 292.

> the half-caste male children are usually destroyed, while the female live little older. We are never likely to have in Australia a mixed race if Europeans and blacks, forming a distinct people, as the Griquas of South Africa.[46]

There seem to be a reversal of the traditional victims of infanticide. Girls used to be the main victims, but here, we see that boys were “destroyed”. This reversal could be an expression of the refusal of the presence of white men, who were associated with the violence of dispossession, the various cases of massacres or rapes of Aboriginal women.[47]
William Thomas, assistant protector, also quoted by Bonwick came to the same conclusion:

> The half-castes have almost always been killed. A woman, when appealed to about it simply answered — "No good — all the same warrigal (dogs)”[48]

Depending on the point of view, the colonised or the colonisers, half-caste children either appeared as tools of genetic engineering put to the service of assimilation, or as symbols of white men, responsible for dispossession, disease and violent colonisation. We can see with the example of Australia and New Zealand that both colonies did not react the same way to this strategy and that in Australia, it resulted in an increase of the practice of infanticide.

1.1.2. The reasons why infanticide was committed

a) the lack of food

One of the reasons mentioned by Polack in his journal is the lack of food. Indeed, the difficulty of finding nourishing food for the infants is put forward as one of the reasons to commit infanticide:

> The difficulty of procuring nourishing food for the infant was formerly another cause for the death of the offspring; for when nature refused its natural sustenance, there was nothing in the country that could be swallowed by an infant.[49]

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[46] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 43.
[47] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand,* 1995. Missionaries were “appalled by the murder, rape, and pillage carried out by their own country-people.” p. 187.
[48] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 49.
[49] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures*, p. 383.

This is the last reason mentioned by Polack (among polygamy or spite, which will be mentioned later) and it is the main one if we refer to other journals (by settlers in New Zealand and in Australia). However, in Polack's journal it is not presented as such. The main reasons in Polack's account appeared to be ones previously mentioned like jealousy, rage and malignity. On the contrary in James Bonwick's accounts in Australia, it was acknowledged that the lack of sustenance was the main cause of infanticide:

> The destruction of children arises not from a want of maternal affection, but, from the will of the tribe, flight from an enemy, the difficulty of following roving husbands with infants, and the want of natural food for such offspring. The last reason is a strong one. The character of native food is unsuitable to very young children."[50]

However, he also perpetuated the prejudice of the idleness of the Aboriginal by quoting John Helder Wedge, a surveyor and explorer, who interrogated William Buckley[51] on the practice: "To get rid, therefore, of the trouble and inconvenience of finding sustenance for two, should the second be born before the eldest is weaned, they destroy the youngest immediately after it is born."[52] To prevent the child from lacking food, native women tended to nurse their children until the age of three or four. It means that if another child was born before the previous one is weaned, the second was likely killed. He represented the indigenous as idle and unwilling to make efforts to save their children. Wedge recognized that the lack of food was the main cause of infanticide, but he also supposed that it was sometimes committed for other reasons, which were symbolical of their savageness.

The more the colonisation of Australia progressed, the less land they had to hunt on or forage food. It is possible that dispossession caused by the presence of settlers led to the destruction of more children.

b) The loss of their land: increase of the practice of infanticide?

William Thomas, assistant protector in the Port Phillip district (now Melbourne) led a meticulous study of the suspected cases of infanticide in the tribe he was following. He recorded the confession of Billibellary, the headman of the Woiwurrung, on the practice of infanticide.

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[50] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 48.

[51] William Buckley (1780-1856), 'wild white man', was an escaped convict who lived for thirty-two years with the Aboriginals. Wedge obtained his pardon from Lieutenant-Governor (Sir) George Arthur and John Batman employed him as interpreter. Tipping, M. J. 'Buckley, William (1780–1856)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/buckley-william-1844/text2133, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 17 February 2021.

[52] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 25.

Quoting Billibellary words in his journal 7, October 1843, he reported: "he said that Black Lubra's say now no good Children, Black fellow say No Country now for them, very good Weikite & no more come up Pickaniny".[53] The mothers (lubras) were the one committing infanticide because of the loss of their country. The augmentation of the spoliation of the land by European settlers probably led to the augmentation of infanticides, at least in Australia, as argue Broom and Fels who linked dispossession with infanticide.[54] The loss of their ancestral lands deprived the Aboriginals of a place to raise their children. Aboriginals had lived in Australia for more than 30,000 years and were deeply attached to their lands, which constituted at the same time a spiritual and physical heritage. Without this heritage, the education of their children was compromised. William Thomas acknowledged in his journal that dispossession was a reason why infanticide was committed: "Infanticide is in my opinion much on the increase they say 'no country, no good pickaniney'".[55]

Paradoxically, as we will see, infanticide was used to justify interventionism and colonisation which would result in territorial expansion, which was a cause of infanticide.

c) The reasons that can be attributed to their "savageness"

In Polack's account, it is argued that "polygamy" was a cause of infanticide, the different wives killed each other's infants by jealousy or to win "the affection of the husbands".

> "One of the principal causes is occasioned by polygamy, where the women, occupied by eternal jealousies, are striving, by the most malicious inventions, to undermine each other in the affections of the husbands. The poor babe often suffers from these conflicts."[56]

As seen previously, women were responsible for the death of their children. Polack, by putting the emphasis on polygamy as the main reason why infanticide was committed, underlined the "savageness" of indigenous people. Mothers were depicted as monsters, perpetuating this evil practice on "poor babe". If polygamy was considered as the main reason by Polack, it might be because polygamy clashed with the sacred dimension of marriage in Europeans' minds. In other accounts, particularly in Australia, hunger was presented as another reason for infanticide.

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[53] William, Thomas. Thomas's Journal, 7 October 1843, ML MS 214, Reel 3, frame 99, quoted in Stephens Marguerita, 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 117.
[54] Broome, Richard 2005, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History Since 1800,* Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales; Fels, Marie Hansen 2010, *'I Succeeded Once'. The Aboriginal Protectorate on the Mornington Peninsula, 1839-40*, Aboriginal History Ine and ANU E Press, Canberra.
[55] Thomas's Journal, quoted in 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 120.
[56] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures,* p. 381.

> As to their [the Tattayarras] being Cannibals occasionally, there appears to be but little doubt. According to the people of the Murray — who themselves kill boys for the sake of their fat, with which to bait their fishhooks! — *these natives devour their children in times of scarcity.* One man was pointed out as having destroyed two children for that purpose; and none of them deny having recourse to so dreadful an alternative when pressed with hunger.[57]

The previous reason, the lack of food for children, turns into another reason, the lack of food for adults, whose solution was to eat their children. Even if Wedge recognised the first cause of infanticide as being the difficulty to find food for children, he also identified other reasons, those reasons (as many others) being biased by prejudices as the idleness of the Indigenous, their lack of moral sense and their savageness. He argued that women committed it:

> from mere *wantonness*, and as it would seem to us, a total absence of that maternal feeling which is found even in the brute creation. One woman in particular (the wife, I think, of Mullamboid) was pointed out to me, who had destroyed ten out of eleven of her children, one of whom she killed a few days previous to my [Wedge's] arrival at the Port."[58] (italics added)

By implying that they were totally deprived of "maternal felling which is found even in the brute creation", he reinforced the prejudices that placed the Aboriginals on the lowest position in the racial hierarchy. This quote also shows the fragility of the sources, the woman was "pointed out", which means that the validity of this statement is based on the saying of an unknown person, who Wedge chose to believe, even if he did not witness it himself. What is presented as "traditions" in Aboriginal or Maori culture was also put forward to explain the reasons why infanticide was committed. It gave credit to the idea that infanticide was a customary practice and not occasional.

> "It appears to have been also the custom, when a woman was promised to one man but given to another, to kill the first child. If two were born at a birth, one was usually strangled."[59]

[57] Angas, George French, *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, pp. 72-73.
[58] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 25.
[59] *Ibid.* p. 49.

The use of words like “custom” or “usually” imply that infanticide was a customary practice, it did not occur occasionally but often, even if once again, none of the settlers quoted in this essay witnessed it directly.

1.1.3. Infanticide as a cause of the decline of indigenous peoples

Maoris and Aboriginals were considered to be dying races in 1837. In front of the Select Committee on Aborigines, Dr. Lang, the minister of the Scotch Church stated:

> From the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance, and from European diseases, their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Sydney especially, they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes.[60]

After the first contacts with Europeans, Indigenous peoples seemed to be rapidly declining, and various reasons were given for their decline, among which infanticide. In a way, it was convenient for European settlers to put the blame on infanticide for the die-off of Indigenous because it meant that they were not responsible. Infanticide was often presented as the main cause, even if other reasons were mentioned, implying more or less explicitly the role of European settlers.

a) The multiple causes of decline of the Aboriginal and Maori populations

It is commonly acknowledged today that diseases brought from the Old Continent by settlers were mainly responsible for the decline of indigenous tribes. For example, in New Zealand “From 1810 to 1840 there were around 120,000 deaths from illness and other ‘normal’ causes, an average of 4,000 a year. In the same period warfare caused perhaps 700 deaths per year.”[61] It means that wars and quarrels, which were put forwards as cause of death indigenous children, were in fact negligible compared with death caused by diseases like smallpox, mumps, whooping coughs and measles which particularly affected children. No numbers are available between 1840 and 1870 concerning the death of children but Ian Pool argues that in 1886 over a half of the Maoris who died were children.[62] These numbers help put into perspective the various causes of

[60] Parliament, House of Commons, Aborigines Protection Society. *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, 1837, p. 11.
[61] Pool, Ian. 'Death rates and life expectancy - Effects of colonisation on Māori', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/death-rates-and-life-expectancy/page-4 (accessed 26 April 2021)
[62] *Ibid*.

death and prove that infanticide, which was presented by settlers as the main cause of death of children in Australia and New Zealand and as responsible for the disappearance of the races, was in fact way less important than other causes.

b) Shifting the blame to the Indigenous for their own decline

Some settlers present infanticide as the cause of decline of indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand because it makes the responsibility of Europeans less perceptible. It seems that this strategy worked because in Europeans' mind, infanticide was part of Maori and Aboriginal cultures, they were defined by this practice and the practice of cannibalism.

When no clear mention of infanticide is made in George Grey's journals, George French Angas argues on the contrary that infanticide is one of the main causes of decline on Aboriginal populations in Australia, saying that:

> "The population of the native tribes inhabiting South Australia is not considerable. Constant wars and quarrels between the tribes, polygamy, and infanticide are amongst the causes of this."[63]

Putting the blame on what he considered their "customs" as the cause of their decline is very questionable, when it has been proven now and even acknowledged by a few of Angas' contemporaries that diseases brought by the Europeans paired with the slaughter of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia by Europeans were the main causes of their decline. Angas implied that their decline was their fault, thus denying the implication and the role of British settlers.

To relieve European settlers from their responsibility in the disappearance of Maoris and Aboriginals, the Select Committee drew a difference between "good" and "evil" settlers: good settlers were respectable free Englishmen (as opposed to the convicts) and missionaries; and the "evil" settlers were whalers or sealers who were only guided by the lure of profit, and the convicts.[64]

Conclusion 1.1:

Infanticide is one of the main tropes, along with cannibalism, to define Maori and Aboriginal cultures in the 19th. Settlers' accounts largely contributed to this representation of Indigenous as infanticidal peoples and their affirmative tone did not suffer any contradiction or questioning even

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[63] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* p. 81.
[64] *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, 1837.

if the evidence on which they are based are less than reliable. What is important to note is not the questionable veracity of their accounts – to which we will come back later, but which purpose they served. The emphasis on infanticide was a way to justify the spread of Christianity in the colonies. Christianity appeared to be the best way to save indigenous children from their parents, from their tribes, from infanticide. After the phase of observation of infanticide, settlers tried to prevent it by bringing Christian religion to Maoris and Aboriginals and by developing a humanitarian legislation.

1.2. Indigenous children in need of Christian and humanitarian intervention

The spread of Christianity and civilisation among the Indigenous was seen as the best way to save children from infanticide. But to save the children, the parents must be brought into the right faith by conversion. This process of conversion of the indigenous was paired with a process of civilisation that could be achieved through laws that protected children and brought the indigenous under the British law. As Marguerita Stephens argues, William Buckley's testimony obtained by John Helder Wedge and quoted in Bonwick's account, confirmed "the Aborigines of Port Phillip as infanticides, a claim perfectly calculated to commend them to British humanitarians as a people in dire need of Christian salvation." [65]

1.2.1. The incompatibility of infanticide and Christianity

Even if Joel Samuel Polack was not Christian, he was still a representative of the Jewish religion in New Zealand. He tried to "preach" the right word to indigenous women:

> In vain I told the circle of women, to whom I was addressing myself on the subject, that the Creator was too just to allow a murderer to escape, in any shape. My words fell on their ears like the wind.[66]

Here, Polack underlined the difficulty to abolish such a shocking custom for Europeans. The use of religious references did not appear to scare the natives into abolishing this practice because they were not converted yet. Divine justice, as seen by the European religions, "the Creator was too just to allow murderer to escape", did not frighten them because they had not yet accepted European monotheist religions. It means that conversion must precede the saving of Aboriginal and Maori children. The conversion of parents, the saving of their souls (which will be the centre

[65] Stephens, Marguerita. "Infanticide at Port Phillip", p. 110.
[66] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures*, p. 382.

of the third part) is the key to the saving of their children. They have to quit their barbarous traditions and practices to be assimilated into British society in Australia and New Zealand. William Thomas also tried to instil the fear of divine justice pointing out to Billibellary "the wickedness of the practice, that God would ask all those Lubras when they died where those Children were that they killed."[67] This proved unsuccessful because the infantile mortality did not diminish in the Kulin tribe.

1.2.2. The justification of the spread of Christianity: the work of missionary to abolish the practice

The missionaries, who were only starting the teaching of religion to the Indigenous tribes in the first half of the 19th century were to make the indigenous quit what was considered by the Europeans a barbarous crime. As argued the Bishop of Australia in a letter after a visit in New Zealand,

> The practice of infanticide I hope, and believe, does not prevail among any who are Christians by profession; but in their native state, there can be no doubt that it does prevail.[68]

The spread of religion is put forward as a way to save children from this practice. He then takes the example of a child he baptised:

> I think that the very infant which I baptized had been saved from death by its mother's hands, through the interposition of Mrs. Fairburn, giving clothing for the child; the want of which would have led to the desperate determination of destroying it as soon as born.[69]

The lack of the necessary supplies for an infant, would have – according to the Bishop – led to the destruction of the child. In this account, Mrs Fairburn appeared like the saviour of this child. It implicitly means that without the intervention of generous white settlers, children cannot be saved from this practice.

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[67] Thomas' journal. Quoted in Stephens Marguerita, 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 117.
[68] Letter of the Bishop of Australia, Sydney NSW March 23, 1839, quoted in *Missions of the Church Missionary Society*, *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, at Kishnaghur, and in New Zealand*, 1840, pp. 112-13.
[69] *Ibid*.

William Thomas saw Christianisation as a "readily available remedy consonant with the mission of the Protectorate and [his] own".[70] As assistant Protector in the Port Phillip district, he also held morning Church services and informed the Aboriginals of the law of God:

> "[I] point out the anger and Determination of God to punish he who ever kills their Children, they paid great attention, & to my surprise about an hour after many came to my Quarters to hear more of White Man's Laws of Murder."[71]

By instigating the fear of God's wrath in Aboriginals' and Maoris' minds, infanticide could be prevented. By continuing the practice of infanticide, indigenous peoples rendered themselves guilty in front of the British law and more importantly to missionaries' eyes, in front of the divine law.

1.2.3. Anti-infanticide legislation: the protection of children by the law

a) The creation of the position of Protector

The office of Protector of Aborigines was established in 1838 after the recommendation of the *Report of the Select Committee on Aboriginal* Tribes. The function of Protector of the Aborigines implied the protection of indigenous people, whether it was from themselves or from the settlers. William Hobson was appointed protector of the Aborigines in New Zealand after the Treaty of Waitangi. Maori became British subjects under the British law and were theoretically protected from dispossession and abuse from the settlers' society, but also made them responsible in front of court in case of violation of the law. In Australia, the protector had the status of legal guardian of Aboriginal children, which gave them the power to separate the children from their parents.[72] If the protector considered a child was in danger, he could remove it from its parents place it for adoption. It is important to note that the protectors and their assistants were often active members of the different churches present in the colonies because they had created a relationship with indigenous communities, knew their languages and their traditions.[73] It shows that the process of Christianisation and the process of civilisation often mirror each other.

b) Bringing Indigenous people under the British law

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[70] Stephens, Marguerita. "Infanticide at Port Phillip", p. 117.
[71] Thomas Journal, 19 May 1844, ML MS 214, Reel 3, frame, quoted in 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p. 119.
[72] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand,* pp. 34-35.
[73] William Thomas was assistant Protector from 1838-1849 and a fervent Wesleyan.

Governor Macquarie, in a proclamation in 1816, extended the protection of British law to the Aboriginals, especially in matter of violence.[74] Aboriginal children were thus, in theory, legally protected from infanticide because it was forbidden in England. The select committee from 1837, also played an active role in the protection of indigenous peoples by pressuring, as A. Armitage argues:

> settler governments to introduce the committee's policies. In Australia, these policies were introduced through the 'Protection of Aborigines' statutes which were passed in the period between 1869 and 1909; and in New Zealand, they were introduced in legislation establishing the Native Department (1861) and the Native Schools Act, 1867. Settlers, confident of their racial and cultural superiority, introduced these paternalistic policies in the 'best interests' of aboriginal peoples.[75]

Children were in the centre of these policies because they mainly concerned education. Concerning the Maoris, the select Committee argued that "they must be defended in the observation of their own customs, so far as they are compatible with universal maxims of humanity and morals."[76] Implicitly, the customs that were not compatible with the "universal maxims of humanity and morals" were cannibalism and infanticide. The select Committee recommendations were based on settlers' comments about the life in the colonies, like for example Saxe Bannister, who was appointed to the attorney-generalship of New South Wales[77], or George Fife Angas, the father of George French Angas, whose journals are studied in this essay. The Committee argued that the application of the British law on Aboriginal territories should be progressive:

> "It should therefore be one branch of the duty of the protectors to suggest to the local government, and through it to the local legislature, such short and simple rules as may form a temporary and provisional code for the regulation of the Aborigines, until advancing knowledge and civilization shall have superseded the necessity for any such special laws."[78]

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[74] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand*, p. 17.
[75] *Ibid*. pp. 189-190.
[76] *Report of the Parliament Select Committee*, quoted in *Comparing the Policy of Assimilation*, p. 189.
[77] Currey, C. H. 'Bannister, Saxe (1790–1877)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bannister-saxe-1738/text1919, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 27 April 2021.
[78] *Ibid*. p. 127

It would be to the appreciation of the Protectors to determine if the British law should be enforced or not. However, there is a discrepancy between the humanitarian aim of these policies and their success. The protection of children from infanticide and the barbarous manners of their tribes was a pretext for further colonisation. The emphasis on infanticide in itself was also a strategy to convince London, local representatives of the Crown in the colonies and settlers, that intervention to civilise and Christianise the heathen Aboriginals and Maoris was necessary. The humanitarian dimension of these policies constituted the background for stricter policies of surveillance and for territorial expansion.

1.3. The results of these humanitarian policies and of the focus on infanticide

1.3.1. The apparent success of Christianity and civilisation

a) The case of New Zealand

George French Angas believed that the civilising and Christianising missions together could make indigenous people in Australia and New Zealand "prosperous communities."

> "in countries only now emerging from a primitive state of barbarism; but which the energy and enterprise of British colonists, and the benign influence of Christianity combined, will eventually render the peaceful abodes of civilized and prosperous communities."[79]

On the success of the Christianisation and civilisation of Indigenous in New Zealand he wrote:

> "Infanticide is frequent amongst the New Zealanders; though the introduction of Christianity by the missionaries, and the gradually increasing intercourse they have with Europeans, have done much towards abolishing this shocking custom."[80]

The increasing contacts with settlers, which meant territorial expansion, were presented as a way to abolish infanticide. This success was also made possible by the introduction of Christianity by missionaries. Christianity in Angas account appears to have succeeded in the abolition of infanticide. The mission in Otawhao, led by John Morgan, a Church Missionary Society (CMS)

[79] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* preface.
[80] *Ibid*. pp. 312-13.

agent and his wife was seen as example of rural "civilisation" in the 1850s.[81] The town possessed fields, mills, agricultural tools, a church and most importantly a boarding school for Maori children. George French Angas took the example of the success of the Otawhao mission saying that a "woman, now living with Mrs. Morgan, destroyed all of her children up to the period of her embracing Christianity."[82] The conversion of this woman and the fact that she no longer practised infanticide showed that there was hope in civilising the indigenous peoples of New Zealand, in a word, they were not beyond help. If the missionaries persevered, they could completely abolish the practice. Christianisation and the end of infanticide are presented in a causal relationship.

b) A contrasting view on this apparent success: a difference between New Zealand and Australia?

In William Thomas's journals, which are lengthily quoted in the article "Infanticide at Port Phillip: Protector William Thomas and the Witnessing of Things Unseen", there are no apparent decrease of the practice of infanticide, at least in the tribe he was observing. Angas talked about New Zealand and Australia, but he took the Maoris as an example in the success of civilisation and Christianisation regarding the practice of infanticide. Contrastingly, Thomas accounts of the Kulin tribe from Victoria did not represent any success in the eradication of infanticide. He did not observe a diminution of the practice, on the contrary he thought that the practice was increasing because of dispossession. These contrasting views can show that Maori were more receptive to Christianity and civilisation than the Aboriginals, but it could also have been a way to reinforce the prejudices on the hierarchy between Maoris and Aboriginals.

Once it was recognised by Thomas, who was assistant protector, i.e., a representative of London in the colonies who made official reports, that dispossession was detrimental to the Aboriginals and the Maoris and that in the case of Australia it possibly led to an increase of infanticide, preventing dispossession should have been seen as an indirect way to protect Aboriginal children. The Select Committee questioned the principle of Terra Nullius which deprived the Aboriginals from their rights to the soil [83], but this recognition on paper of Aboriginal rights did not prevent further territorial expansion and thus failed to remove dispossession from the causes of infanticide. Moreover, the instillation of the fear of God in indigenous minds did not

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[81] Howe, K. R. 'Morgan, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m55/morgan-john (accessed 1 May 2021)

[82] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. Vol II, p. 142.

[83] *Report of the Select Committee*: "It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land - have an incontrovertible right to their own soil: a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country." p. 4.

seem to work for William Thomas, because he did not perceive a diminution of infantile mortality in the Kulin tribe. It either meant that the remained deaf to his preaching or simply that they were not committing infanticide and that children died independently of their will, because of diseases for example. Thomas tried to involve tribe's members like Billibellary in his attempt to put an end to infanticide, Billibellary was to watch closely women's pregnancies in his tribe. But this attempt was also marked by failure, the death kept happening.[84]

1.3.2. The lack of evidence: infanticide as a pretext for colonisation

a) The absence of eyewitnesses and fragility of the sources

William Thomas, the assistant-protector and guardian of the Aboriginals tried to count in his journal the occurrences of infanticide in his district. Appointed by Robinson, he was influenced by humanitarianism and tried to prevent the disappearance of the Aboriginals by encouraging the creation of reserves.[85] He is considered a "good witness" by Marguerita Stephens, who uses his journals to demonstrate that the representation of Aborigines and Maoris as infanticidal peoples was used to justify colonisation. Marguerita Stephens argues that Thomas never witnessed infanticide himself but strongly believed that it was a customary practice. In his official report from November 30, 1844, Thomas reported: "Infanticide I am persuaded is now awfully on the increase, tho it cannot be detected."[86] Thomas noted seventy-six deaths in his journal but could not be sure if these deaths were natural or if children were victims of infanticide. In his journal, Thomas was less affirmative on the practice of infanticide than in his official reports, which clearly stated the prevalence of infanticide.[87] On the contrary, other settlers' personal journals were positive on the practice of infanticide. The affirmative ton of these settlers' journals leaves no room for questioning or contestation, even if the settlers' whose journals are studied in this essay never witnessed it themselves. The stories they tell were transmitted by other settlers or sometimes by Indigenous, as it was the case for Polack. They either arrived too late to witness it, or the Indigenous acted in secret, which is paradoxical because according to some settlers they had no objection to talk about it.

William Buckley gave different testimonies on the practice of infanticide and these testimonies, same as the ones who received them were not disinterested. He gave a testimony to Wedge, who advocated for territorial expansion for the Port Phillip Association. Wedge had

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[84] Stephens, Marguerita. "Infanticide at Port Phillip", p. 118.
[85] Mulvaney, D. J 'Thomas, William (1793–1867)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thomas-william-2727/text3845, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 25 April 2021.
[86] Thomas Report, quoted in 'Infanticide at Port Phillip', p.121.
[87] Stephens, Marguerita, 'Infanticide at Port Philip', pp. 122-23.

interest to show that the Aboriginals needed more European presence and Buckley, who was an escaped convict had interest to say what Wedge wanted to hear.[88] That could explain why Buckley's testimony was more moderate when he talked with George Langborne. Buckley only mentioned a form of mortuary cannibalism and that the infants were much loved by their parents. This version contrasts with the one he gave Wedge, which is also quoted in Bonwick's accounts. The fact that Bonwick chose to reproduce Wedge's version and not Langhorne's can show that there was a form of emphasis on sensationalism.

b) The difficulty to differentiate infantile mortality due to congenital disease from infanticide

Diseases brought by the Europeans affected both children and adults. Before the first encounters with European sailors, the Maoris had a life expectancy equal to wealthy Europeans, but this life expectancy collapsed in the 19th century and the infantile death rate skyrocketed.[89]

As Marguerita Stephens argues,

> Thomas himself told the New South Wales Select Committee of 1849 that he had seen children born 'literally rotten' with congenital syphilis, and the reports of Henry Jones, medical dispenser to the Aborigines at Thomas' Nerre Nerre Warren station in 1842-43, also confirm the prevalence of syphilis amongst men, women, children and infants.[90]

The symptoms of syphilis are sometimes discreet or even imperceptible which makes it difficult to recognise on infants. If the disease was not treated, it caused miscarriage, stillbirths and deaths of infants during the first weeks after their birth. Sometimes, skin lesions around the mouth prevented their feeding and caused their deaths.[91] This difficulty to differentiate death of natural causes and infanticide can explain why so many settlers believed that infanticide was a customary practice. They were either unable to identify infantile diseases or they chose to ignore them to shift the blame from European diseases to Indigenous' savagery. Moreover, the period after birth on which the death occurs corresponds to most of the cases of infanticide: according to settlers'

[88] *Ibid*. p. 114.
[89] Pool, Ian. 'Death rates and life expectancy', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/death-rates-and-life-expectancy (accessed 1 May 2021)
[90] Stephens, Marguerita. "Infanticide at Port Phillip", p. 125.
[91] *Ibid*.

journals infanticide was committed from the day of the birth up to a month (more rarely[92]), that could explain why so many deaths were attributed to infanticide instead of natural causes.

c) The justification of interventionism

In the case of India, Satardu Sen argues that "this was not so much a conversation about children's lives, as it was about the legitimacy of the interventionist state".[93] If extend to Australia or New Zealand, as Marguerita Stephens does, it means that the saving of children was a pretext for further colonisation. Humanitarian theories are thus undermined, because their aim was no longer the saving of children but what this saving could justify. The representation of children needing humanitarian intervention was used to justify territorial expansion, extensive removal of children from their family for their own sake, educational policies, Christianisation, surveillance or even policies of extermination. The theories regarding the literal saving of children from infanticide led to theories regarding the saving of Indigenous' mind and souls as ways to prevent infanticide. The children of Aboriginals and Maoris were presented in settlers accounts as "subject requiring humanitarian intervention."[94] The saving of children was to be pursued by the saving of their minds thanks to secular education, and by the saving of their souls by their Christianisation.

[92] Thomas Journal quoted in 'Infanticide at Port Phillip': "if the child is not made away with before the next new moon, it is generally allowed to live", p. 121.
[93] Sen, Satardu. 2002, 'The Savage family: colonialism and female infanticide in nineteenth century India',2002, p. 56, quoted in "Infanticide at Port Phillip" p. 110.
[94] Stephens, Marguerita. "Infanticide at Port Phillip", p. 114.

2. The saving of children's mind by secular education

> "The education of the young will of course be amongst the foremost of the cares of the missionaries; and the protectors should render every assistance in their power in advancing this all-important part of any general scheme of improvement."[95]

Secular and religious education were mainly provided by the missionaries. In this part, we will draw a difference between the secular knowledge taught by missionaries and later by government schools, and the religious and moral education or Christianisation of the Indigenous, that will be studied in the third part. In this trinity of the "saving" of children (body, mind and soul), the saving of the mind can be associated with the process of mental education. The Church Missionary Society recommended that 'civilisation' and 'Christianisation' should be pursued simultaneously.[96] Indigenous people of Australia and New Zealand were to be "civilised" [97] by the European settlers and their efforts were directed towards children. As shows the definition of "civilise" the notions of improvability and education are key concepts in the understanding of the policies of civilisation in Australia and New Zealand. Before applying policies of education, the settlers needed to determine if the Aboriginals and the Maoris could "improve" and if some of their testimonies are similar on certain aspects of the education of Maoris and Aboriginals, they differ on the application of the policies and on their success. For missionaries, secular education was only the first step toward Christianisation and understanding of the Bible. They taught indigenous children English, arithmetic, or geography but also manual skills and proper behaviour. Education of the Indigenous children was not an aim in itself but a step in their assimilation into British society in the colonies and finally their conversion. Education can be seen by settlers as a way to elevate indigenous children from their "barbarous" state, but it is also intrinsically bound to the concept of cultural genocide, the traditional cultures of Maoris and Aboriginals being destroyed in the process.

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[95] *Report of Parliament Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, 1837. p.127.
[96] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia". *History Australia*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2008, p.7.
[97] "to civilise": to educate and improve a person or a society; to make somebody's behaviour or manners better, *Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary*.

2.1. Settlers' perception of the education of children by their tribes

Settlers as Polack precisely described the customs of the Indigenous regarding the education of their children. He witnessed the life of children among their tribes and gave descriptions of it in his journals. He acknowledged the positive aspects of their education by their parents such as their knowledge of nature or their autonomy at an early age; however, he criticised their lack of chastisement, discipline, and respect towards their parents. This latter critic can also be found in settlers' journals in Australia. The education of children in their tribes is not often studied, but it is crucial to see how they were educated and how settlers talked about this education to understand the later policies of education by the Europeans. The policies of education of children in the colonies were guided by the policies of Great Britain and the settlers often compared the education of children in their tribes with the education of the children of the poor in the United Kingdom. The link between children in the colonies and the poor of England is underlined in numerous articles and an insight into theories regarding the education in England is necessary to understand the strategies that are applied in the colonies.

2.1.1. The way Maoris and Aboriginals taught their children[98]

Physical education was a great part of the general education young Maoris received and it led Polack to note that "the precocity of the children may be seen in young urchins, who have scarcely the power to walk, steering large canoes without aid."[99] There was no distinction between boys and girls, who were both raised equally. According to Polack, they received the same education and were able to do the same tasks.

> […] both sexes, at seven and eight years old, are capable of performing the war-dance and hakas, accompanied with all the frightful distortion of countenance which the adults make use of to inspire their enemies with fear and confusion; the infantine performers are careful in keeping that regularity of action in the feet, and changes of tone in the songs, that give a zest to these performances.[100]

[98] The religious education, which occupied an important place in the education of young Maoris and Aboriginals will be studied in the third part, where the beliefs of Maoris and Aboriginals will be studied in depth. In this subpart we will see the different subjects taught to Indigenous children by their tribes.
[99] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*, p. 373.
[100] Ibid. p. 376.

Polack witnessed these scenes near his estate, Parramatta, in the North of the north island of New Zealand. The Maoris, in opposition with the Aboriginals, were praised and admired by the Europeans for their martial skills. This martial education was important in the education of their children and their early participation in warring rituals and discussions is acknowledged by Polack. He compared the treatment of the chief's sons to the treatment of Highlanders' sons.[101] This comparison underlines the sense of "otherness" that could be felt even in the Mother Country. Even if he considered that children were not disciplined enough, he recognised that at an early age, they received a military education and were familiar with war tactics. Children sat at war council and were treated as adults by their parents. Polack noted:

> It is not uncommon to see young children of tender years, sitting next to their parents in the war councils, apparently listening with the greatest attention to the war of words uttered by the chiefs. […] They also ask questions in the most numerously attended assemblies of chiefs, who answer them with an air of respect, as if they were of a corresponding age to themselves.[102]

Paradoxically, Indigenous were treated as children by the colonists but they treated their own children as adults. They had their opinion on matters regarding the tribe and were listened to. They participated from an early age to the life of the community, especially if they were the children of chiefs. When the education in New Zealand was similar for boys and girls, it was different in Australia. It was based on imitation and the older women taught young girls when older men taught young boys. Boys learned hunting and tracking, and girls learned to dig and forage for food and to take care of the children.[103] Education had a practical purpose: all these skills permitted the survival of the tribe. Education explained the place one occupied in his tribe and also in the world because these practical skills were paired with a spiritual education.

The education of Maori and Aboriginal children was based on traditional customs and constituted what we would call today their "intangible cultural heritage." These traditions were transmitted orally to the children by their parents. Once adults, these children were to teach their children the same traditions, and so on. That is why removing one generation, as the policies of education would do with the children, destroyed most parts of this intangible cultural heritage.

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[101] Polack, J. S. *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders*. "The child of a chieftain is regarded by his followers precisely as the Highlanders of the fastnesses of Scotland and Wales confided in their young chiefs". P.28.

[102] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country*, p. 379.

[103] Welch, A. R., et al. "Aboriginal education in Australia: Policies, Problems, Prospects", p. 1.

Education was mainly based on observance and then on imitation. The young Maoris imitated the traditional dances of their parents, the young Aboriginals imitated the manual skills of their elders. The purpose of education of Maoris and Aboriginals was to transmit ancestral knowledge and customs and to prepare the children for their future. The orality of these cultures would prove to be an effective way for the missionaries of teaching Indigenous children on the one hand [104], but on the other hand, the transmission of Aboriginal and Maori culture through language was the cause of their disappearance because no, or very little written traces of these cultures remain.[105] Education was also based on games, the children were free to exercise themselves as they wanted. Angas, with a touch of admiration for the Maori children wrote:

> The children are cheerful and lively little creatures, full of vivacity and intelligence. They pass their early years almost without restraint, amusing themselves with the various games of the country: such as flying kites, which are formed of leaves; the game of maul; throwing mimic spears made of fern- stalks, and sailing their tiny flax canoes on the rivers, or watching them tossed about by the waves of the sea. These are the most favourite sports of these merry and interesting children.[106]

These games developed their agility and also their warring skills (with the mimic spears). This education appeared to be based on freedom, the children being allowed to do what they wanted, but at the same time constituting the basis for their later education.

The observance of these customs and of the education of children by their tribes was followed by the judgement of these observers. Some of these judgements were positive and sometimes contrasted with the vision of Indigenous people as blood-thirsty, quarrelsome, or lacking moral sense.

2.1.2. Settlers' positive perception of children's education by their tribes

Some qualities of the education of Maori children by their tribes are underlined in Polack's accounts of New Zealand. The respect and kindness of the parents towards their children were

[104] Bonwick said that "with oral lessons we have found them quite delighted, especially if a little fun be thrown into the exercise." *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p.32.
[105] The few written traces left of Aboriginal and Maori customs, traditions, cultures were written by settlers in a desperate attempt to prevent the disappearance of these cultures. See for example the attempt to lay on paper Maori grammar or Aboriginal dictionaries. Grey wrote *Vocabulary of the Dialects spoken by the Aboriginal Races of South-Western Australia* and a *Collection of Maori and Aboriginal legends*.
[106] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* p. 394.

attitudes that were remarked in both Aboriginal and Maori cultures. Settlers also noted the early independence of children, their boldness, and their physical skills.

a) The attachment of parents to their children

The kindness of the parents towards their children is something that is often mentioned in accounts of Australia and New Zealand. This clashes with the representation of infanticide in settlers' accounts as showed in the first part. The violence of the description of infanticide contrasts with the depiction of the treatment of their children. European societies were more violent in the education of the children than the Maoris and the Aborigines. Corporal punishments in school were not uncommon in Great Britain at that time.[107] The violence of this education was something that would later be applied in schools for Indigenous children in Australia and New Zealand. On the contrary, the education the children received from their parents was never violent. Angas argued in the case of New Zealand that "children are not chastised and are encouraged to join in the conversation of their elders." (Angas, *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, p. 209). The education of Maoris favoured the intervention of children in conversions, when at that time it was not the place of children in the United Kingdom to intervene in the talks of adults. The children in settlers accounts appeared to be well cared for. Polack said: "I do not remember a request of an infant being treated with neglect, or a demand from one of them being slighted."[108] The same attitude is witnessed in Australia by Angas: "They are kind to their children, and never beat them; if they are displeased, they take them up and throw them to a distance." [109] As we will see later, this emphasis on the indulgence of the parents and what appeared as a praise of Maori and Aboriginal educations was in fact used to point to the lack of restraint and respect of the children.

b) Independence and autonomy

Another element that appears to be praised in setters' accounts on Australia and New Zealand is the independence and autonomy of the children at a young age. "The children of either sex, at an early age, are able to run about long before those belonging to European parents can stand alone."[110] First of all, the custom they had of wearing loose clothes or no clothes at all, allowed the children to be free in their movements and more agile than European children.

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[107] See for example the representation of violence in schools in Charles Dickens' novel *David Copperfield* (1849) or *A Christmas Carol* (1843).

[108] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*, p. 379.

[109] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. p. 94.

[110] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*. P. 373.

> The children walk in nudity until they arrive to six or seven years; they have consequently a vast advantage over such little people who are compressed in bandages and long cloths; and whose infant limbs are paralyzed in the mummy fashion of Europe."[111]

The nudity of children was something that was underlined in the early contacts, even when the interaction between explorers and Indigenous were brief and superficial, it was noted that the children roamed free and naked.[112] Here, Polack criticised European fashion: boys and girls in Europe wore frocks and pleated dress until the age of four[113] and their outfits imitated the fashion of adults.[114] Girl's dresses seemed particularly uncomfortable and prevented physical exercise because it was tight and heavy. Without constricting clothes, Maoris and Aboriginals children could exercise more easily. As we have seen, exploring the nature, mimicking the adults, and playing outside constituted as large part of their education and it was made possible by the absence of constricting clothing. The freedom of movement which was allowed by the absence of clothes was paired by the freedom of speech and thoughts which was allowed by the absence of restraint from their parents. The children did not seem to be scared to speak with the settlers, their childlike curiosity was emboldened by their absence of restraint. Polack noted with a touch of humour that "little children of six years would boldly ask me, how many wives I might have, and if I did not feel inconvenienced deprived of their company".[115]

Indigenous children seemed more advanced than Europeans on some matters, Polack argued that "a little native boy is half a man when a European child is first placed at school. They talk of, and with, strangers, without any feeling of awkwardness or bashfulness.[116] This freedom of speech, although it seemed amusing to setters in their accounts, was used to underline the lack of restraint and respect of the children to their parents and to adults in general. What would be considered as an absence of pudor concerning the body was also the absence of pudor of their minds.

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[111] Polack, J. S. *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders*, p. 179.
[112] See for example James Cook's journals and his first encounter with the inhabitants of New Zealand.
[113] See table of illustration at the end, illustration 1: example of child's cloths in the early 19th.
[114] Price, Paxton. 'Victorian dress and fashion', 2013, consulted on *Victorian Children,* 5, May 2021, https://victorianchildren.org
[115] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in the country between the years 1831 and 1837*, p. 379.
[116] *Ibid*. p. 378.

2.1.3. The critics of this education derived from the positive aspects

a) Absence of restraint and authority…

Polack's accounts appeared to praise the education of the Maoris but in fact, he denounced this education. All the values that could be considered positive (as precocity, curiosity and freedom) are turned into negative ones in Polack's account thanks to a process of amplification. For example, their freedom of speech was considered as a lack of social restraint, their boldness and autonomy as recklessness, and the kindness of their parents as a lack of authority. As Bonwick noted on Aboriginals, "Unbounded is the indulgence given to the little ones."[117] Children were encouraged to speak freely, without fearing the consequences because they were never chastised. However, the freedom of speech of the children, was perceived by the settlers as a lack of restraint. This behaviour could not be tolerated in British society, that is why children needed to be educated. Their assimilation could only be achieved in a stricter environment. The negative influence of the parents on their children was used to justify extensive removal of children from their tribes. This lack of discipline made them disrespectful, even in some cases dangerous for themselves and for others. According to Polack, the absolute "devotion" of the parents towards their children was problematic because they were "seldom or never punished, which, consequently, causes them to commit so many annoying tricks, that continually renders them deserving of a sound, wholesome castigation."[118] The irritation of Polack is perceptible in his journal on page 378, "The obstinacy of the children exceeds belief." The freedom that was allowed to the children in rendered dangerous by the settlers who argued that children put themselves and others in danger.

> The affection of the parents is often ill bestowed on the children, who are at times very undutiful, when thwarted in anything they may want. Their pride and obstinacy have, often caused them, on meeting with any resistance to their stubbornness, to hang or drown themselves. […] This heedless mode of treatment renders the children very hardy, morally and physically.[119]

Children appeared in need of a strong hand to educate them. In their tribes they seemed to lack discipline and this discipline could be given by the settlers and the missionaries in an organised institution. It is important to note that schooling in Indigenous culture was considered informal by Europeans because it was not organised by an institution and no building were strictly dedicated to education. In a word, children were represented in dire need of European education

[117] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 33.
[118] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures,* p. 374.
[119] Ibid. pp. 377-8.

and civilisation. The positive aspects of their education are turned in settlers' accounts into negative ones. This lenient mode of education caused the children to harm or kill themselves in the most extreme cases. The saving of children's minds by education also meant, indirectly, their literal saving by preventing them to put themselves in potentially harmful situations. A parallel is drawn by some settlers between the lack of restraint in their youth and their turning into criminals.

b) …That was said to turn children into criminals when they become adults

This lack of discipline was said to have an impact on their life as adults. The Maoris were considered by settlers as quarrelsome peoples and this was said to be due to the lack of chastisement in their young years. The same theories are seen in settlers' journals in Australia. Grey for example considered that

> the only way to prevent great crime on the part of the natives, and massacres of these poor creatures as the punishment of such crimes, is to check and punish their excesses in their infancy: it is only after becoming emboldened by frequent petty successes, that they have hitherto committed those crimes which have drawn down so fearful a vengeance upon them.[120]

This lack of education and chastisement by their parents was what led them to commit "such crimes", as lethal quarrels between themselves and between them and the settlers – especially the farmers with whom the quarrels were more frequent due to the dispossession of lands. If educated early, the children could become peaceful adults and prevent the different massacres and by extension the murder of other children who were sometimes killed during the quarrels. The key to prevent the children from turning into criminals was strict education. Children's education appeared as a "blessing", which would allow the saving their minds and indirectly in some cases the saving of their body before permitting the saving of their souls by bringing them into Christianity.

2.2. The development of a system of education in the colonies

Education was part of the larger policies of assimilation and protection of Aboriginal and Maori children. Their education would eventually assimilate them in the British society in the colonies. For the main part, missionaries provided this secular education which was paired a religious education. Children were taught various subjects such as arithmetic, geography or English, but they also received a manual education, they learned to be part of the industrial society

[120] Grey, George. *Journals of Two Expeditions of discovery in North-West and Western Australia during the year 1837, 38, and 39, under the Authority of Her Majesty's Government*, vol. 2. P. 379.

of the 19th.[121] The educational strategies were based on what was done in England and the treatment of children in the colonies and of the poor in England were similar, at least on some points, as Anne O'Brien shows in "Creating the Aboriginal Pauper: Missionary Ideas in Early 19th Century Australia"[122] and Amanda Barry in "'Equal to children of European origin': educability and the civilising mission in early colonial Australia". But before applying the educational strategies, missionaries and settlers needed to determine if Aboriginal and Maori children were "educable" and to which extent. The effort was directed towards the education of children – even if adults sometimes attended school – because they were considered more malleable, more "teachable". Education was a tool for civilisation. In this part we will study the different aspects of secular education: "the arts of civilised life" and secular knowledge and see how the prejudice of the racial inferiority of the Indigenous impacted the curriculum and the application of educational policies in Australia and New Zealand.

2.2.1. The educability and improvability of the children

One of the prejudices that characterised the Indigenous in the 19th was that they were incapable of improvement. However, this prejudice was sometimes questioned. The Select Committee on Aboriginal tribes recognised that the prejudice that they were "naturally incapable of improvement" was a "monstruous assumption".[123] In fact, many settlers and missionaries who were in contact with indigenous children thought that they were, as said Thomas Mitchell, "as apt and intelligent as any other race of men I am acquainted with."[124] The children were to receive the greatest attention in the civilising process, because 19th century policies were influenced by the ideas of the 17th-century natural philosopher John Locke that the mind of the children was a blank slate, a *tabula rasa*.[125] It was often acknowledged that they had the same mental abilities as European children. Even outside of the frame of European education, Polack acknowledged their capacities when taught by their tribes when he said that "the children [were] such apt scholars

[121] Child labour was an issue in Victorian England, where there was a strong duality between schools and factories. In these schools in the colonies, it seemed that industry and education found a common ground.
[122] The parallel between infants in the colonies and in the mother country is underlined in the formation in 1836 of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society which was created to provide "infant school instruction" in Britain and the colonies.
[123] *Report of the Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, 1837, p. 9. "The mere fact, that scarcely one of the native tribes in the British colonies has become civilized, is sufficiently discreditable to our national character — the dishonour is increased when we attempt to found upon this the monstrous assumption, that they are naturally incapable of improvement."
[124] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 30.
[125] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", *History Compass*, 2012. p. 308.

at what [was] taught them." [126] Even settlers who were not predisposed to favour Aboriginal people, as Amanda Barry argues, admitted that Aboriginal intellectual capacities were equal to those of Europeans children. She reported the words of the colonist William Westgarth, who went from doubting that the Aborigines' state could improve in 1846, to seeing hope for the future: "testimony has been repeatedly furnished that there is no general defect or incapacity in the Aboriginal mind with regard to memory, quickness of perception, or even the acquirement of the usual elements of education."[127] James Bonwick also quoted various defenders of the improvability of Aboriginal children, even if they drew differences between European and Aboriginal children:

> We may at least believe […] the learned Archbishop Polding, of New South Wales, when he told the Legislature, "I have no reason to think them much lower than ourselves in many respects." Mr. Kidley, the missionary, says: "In forethought and what phrenologists call 'concentrativeness,' they are very deficient; in mental acumen, and in quickness of sight and hearing, they surpass most white people."[128]

It appears in these remarks that Maori and Aboriginal children surpassed European children in the field of "mental acumen." Their capacities were reduced to their bodies and their senses. We can already perceive a separation of the education based on physical aptitudes (such as learning manual skills) and mental, intellectual education, only possible if the children had what was called "concentrativeness", meaning the ability one has to stay focused, concentrated. This capacity was often questioned by settlers because of the lack of restraint children had in their tribes. They were said to be more easily distracted than European children, thus complicating the educational process. It meant that educational strategies had to be adapted for indigenous children. White views on the educability of Australian Aboriginals were influenced by racist views: "that Aborigines were part of an inferior race who were probably destined to die out, and who would, at most, be only able to fulfil the most menial forms of employment."[129] "It would be foolish to argue that all men are equal. The blackfellow is inferior and must necessarily remain so, but he is by no means inferior as to be unable to rise above the level of a working animal."[130] What

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[126] Polack, J. S. *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures*, p. 376.
[127] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to children of European origin': educability and the civilising mission in early colonial Australia", *History Australia*, 2008. P. 10.
[128] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White man and the Blacks of Victoria.* P. 30.
[129] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism: The Schooling of an Indigenous Minority in Australia", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1988. P. 210.
[130] Love, J. R. B. quoted in Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 210.

Welch called “the myth of the ineducability of Australian Aborigines” was not supported by any evidence and led either to the creation of a second-rate system of education or none at all. [131] We will see at the end of this part if the transposition of educational strategies from England or their adaptation were successful in “saving” the minds of young Indigenous. We will also see if prejudices concerning their “improvability” were overcome.

2.2.2. Methods used to make children attend school

a) “Soft” persuasion and the use of children to influence their parents

In 1870-England, school attendance was compulsory and fees were mandatory. But in the colonies, missionaries had to find various ways, depending on the context, both to encourage children to attend schools, and to gain the consent of their parents and communities.[132]

The missionaries were the main providers of education for Maori and Aboriginal children. Secular education was not the main aim of their teaching, it was the conversion of the Indigenous, but education was seen as a way to achieve it. In 1814, the CMS (Church Missionary Society) stated that:

> The instruction of children facilitates access to their parents, secures their friendship and conveys information to them through unsuspected channels. The minds of children are more susceptible and less under the influence of habit and prejudice than those of their parent.[133]

Children were mediator between their parents and the missionaries. This quote shows that they were also perceived as more teachable and less biased by prejudice than their parents. To secure the attendance of children to their schools, the missionaries needed to convince the parents to leave their children to their care. The missionaries donated blankets, food and various European manufactured goods to parents who placed children in their schools. On the contrary, the suppression of these “gifts” could also pressure the parents to place their children at school.[134] The education of the children was perceived as a way to reach the parents and bring them too into civilisation and ultimately Christianity, that is to say, save their minds and then their souls:

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[131] Welch, A. R. “Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism”. P. 210.
[132] Jensz, Felicity. “Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I: Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions”, p. 298.
[133] Prochner, Larry, et al. “’The Blessings of civilization’: nineteenth - century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings - India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s-1840s” , *Paedagogica Historica,* 2009. P. 84.
[134] Welch, A. R. “Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism” p. 208.

> … the children of barbarous tribes … [might] raise up to cultivate and humanise their parents, and become the elements of a society that will soon be able to supply its own wants, advocate their own rights, and diffuse the blessings of civilisation.[135]

But these softer strategies to convince the parents to let their children attend school were by the 1860s replaced by harsher methods which did no longer leave this choice to the parents. The educational laws in Australia and New Zealand allowed the removal of children on a larger scale to place them in residential schools. As we will see, it was already practised since the 1830s but this strategy became the main one in the 1860s to save the minds of Indigenous children.

b) Forcible removal of children from their tribes and families

This educational strategy, removing the children from their tribes, familiar and familial environment was expressed in settlers' journals as an effective strategy to assimilate children, bring them into British, "civilised" society. Children represented the possibility of the founding of a society where British settlers and Indigenous could interact and cohabit peacefully. Eventually, the children would "abandon" their parents and the traditions of their tribes to become British citizens. This policy began in the 1830s and was continued well into the 20th century. The Aboriginals and the Maoris did not suffer this policy to the same extent. Andrew Armitage argues that the removal of children in the colonies was practised so that "the dominant culture could pursue its objective of carrying 'civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth.'" He also argued that in New Zealand the education of young Maoris,

> was not accompanied by the major attempts at social engineering which characterized aboriginal family and child welfare policy in Australia and Canada. In most cases, Maori children stayed in their own communities and were raised in extended families. Child welfare was achieved through informal community practices rather than through assimilation, and the impact of assimilation policy was limited to the language policies of the community Native schools."[136]

The education of indigenous children served the spread of civilisation and the spread of Christianity. Grey's hopes in the "amalgamation", or assimilation of British and indigenous cultures could be achieved thanks to the removal of children. It was hoped that by "immersing pupils in white culture that Indianness or Aboriginality could be bleached out and that these minorities

[135] Prochner, Larry, et al. "The Blessings of civilization", p. 87.
[136] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. P. 160.

could simply be transformed into honorary whites, albeit at the bottom of the economic pyramid."[137]

The removal of children soon appeared necessary to block the influence of their parents and their "barbarous" ways. Parents were not considered as good examples for their children, and since education in was based on imitation, children needed better examples of civilised men and women: their white teachers at school. Multiple reasons were expressed to justify the removal of children, as for example the necessity give them better role models, or the pursuing of their improvement in civilisation and Christianisation far from the influence of their traditional cultures or even the prevention of the disappearance the Indigenous races, as argued William Thomas:

> My suggestion to remove the children early from their tribe and parents may, at first glance, appear relentless, and emanating from a breast void of feeling ; but whoever will take the trouble to reflect seriously upon the result of the many previous efforts in the colony, and our sister colonies throughout New Holland, to retain the aboriginal rising generation, after they had been educated, from retiring and mingling with their race and off to the wilderness, must be convinced that nothing short of removing them a considerable distance from their tribe can permanently improve their condition, and avert the extinction of the aboriginal race.[138]

The education of the young was perceived as the only way to save the aboriginal race and only by being removed from their tribes could they improve. William Thomas considered that not only should they be separated from their parents but that they should be sent far away from them to prevent any contact with their families and to prevent their "return to the bush."[139] The special position of half-castes in the colonial context, as we have seen in the case of infanticide, was also one of the reasons according to Welch why children were removed. Half-castes were seen as more educable and local specificities started to emerge in Australia, where half-castes were according to the settlers, the main victims of infanticide. Their literal "saving" was a pretext for the saving of their minds through education. Forcible removal was a tool to this multi-faceted saving.[140] They were said to be more attentive at school and more easily disciplined. Bonwick

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[137] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 207.
[138] Thomas, William. Quoted in Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 83.
[139] This expression is recurrent in Grey's journals.
[140] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 208: "Sometimes, as in New South Wales in the nineteenth century, this was practiced more on those children designated 'half-caste', presumably on the basis that these children could be more easily trained in white ways than 'full-bloods' who, it was often felt, would die out. In Western Australia, Milnes shows that the separation of Aboriginal children from

took the example of a boy in Port Phillip attending the mission school in Adelaide who was "far more attentive than the rest".[141] This strategy, although considered effective in civilising the Indigenous, was questioned at its beginning in the 1830s, various opinions on the subject are transcribed in Bonwick's accounts. He took the examples of the protectors and governors of various regions of Australia, whose opinion diverged on the removal of children: Mr. Protector Robinson, Mr. Protector Moorhouse, Mr. Langborne and Governor Richard Bourke.

> Several years ago, Mr. Protector Robinson, of Melbourne, proposed to Mr. Protector Moorhouse, of Adelaide, that they should exchange a certain number of lads, it being thought the introduction into a strange country with strange blacks might release them from the force of native habits. Mr. Langborne, of Melbourne, in 1838, recommended forcible restraint of the young for three or four years, and that they be brought from a distance to the Yarra Settlement. In answer to this report, the Governor at Sydney, Sir Richard Bourke, thus expressed his opinion: "The Governor approves of your endeavouring to induce the adult aborigines to leave their children with you for education but *cannot consent to any restraint being placed on their inclinations if they desire at any time to withdraw from your care*." (Italics added) [142]

Even if they agreed that the removal of children was an interesting strategy, they disagreed on the ways to pursue it. Governor Bourke did not want to render it compulsory. If the parents wanted to take their children from the schools, they should be able to do so. There was a tension between the "forcible restraint" defended by Langborne and the right of parents to remove their children from the care of the schools defended by Bourke. The children that were removed from their families would later be called the "stolen generation". The Aborigines Protection Act 1869 allowed the removal of Aboriginal children in Victoria to force them to assimilate into British society. This act was the first step toward the removal of many Aboriginal children from their families. This policy defended the idea that removing the children permitted their savings: the saving of their bodies, minds, and souls. However, the removal of children did not begin with this act. There were occasional examples of Aboriginal children being adopted and taught by white settlers. The most famous example is Mathinna, a young girl from Tasmania who lived for a time with the Governor Franklin and his wife. She represents the early stolen generation and the attempts, experiments of settlers to determine the "educability of the native." She was born on Flinders Island after the

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their parents was practised from very early in the nineteenth century, because of white prejudices regarding the 'harmful effects of Aboriginal adults on the educated children'"

[141] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*. P. 50.

[142] *Ibid*. p. 50.

remaining Tasmanian population had been moved here. By 1841 she was orphaned and "graciously" adopted by the Franklins before being sent to Orphan School when the Franklins returned to England a few years later.[143] The so-called saving of this young girl was actually a social experiment, which in a way dehumanized the 6-year-old girl. She was considered by Lady Jane Franklin as an object of curiosity and of study. Thomas Bock painted her portrait (see the front page) for the Franklins. What he wanted to represent is questioned by Penny Russell in "Inventions of Mathinna": "was he painting a childhood full of promise for the future, or was he capturing for posterity a tragic image, this youthful member of a doomed race?"[144] It was rightly considered at that time that the Tasmanian were a "dying race." Lady Franklin wanted this portrait to show the "influence of some degree of civilization upon a child of as pure a race as they".[145] However, she thought that Mathinna,

> though entirely apart from her own people, retain[ed] much of the unconquerable nature of the savage; extreme uncertainty of will and temper, great want of perseverance and attention, little if any, self-control, and great acuteness of the senses and facility of imitation.[146]

Mathinna was the second attempt of Jane Franklin to "Europeanize" an indigenous child. She had already tried a few years before to educate a young Tasmanian boy, Timemenidic, but without success, and eventually, he was sent to the Orphan School.[147] Russell gives in her article a brilliant analysis of the Bock's portrait of Mathinna. The portrait was framed (the oval shape on the painting) and the frame hid a key feature of this painting, the bare feet of Mathinna. They were a symbol of her "wildness" that contrasted with her composure, the position of her hands and the humility of her face. The oval portrait was supposed to incarnate the success of the civilising mission of Lady Franklin (she at least managed to get her dressed to the European fashion, and Mathinna displayed a good behavior), but when the frame was removed when the portrait was bought by the Tasmanian museum and Art Gallery it showed that this success was not complete,

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[143] Alexander, Alison. 'Mathinna (c. 1835–?)', People Australia, *National Centre of Biography*, Australian National University, https://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/mathinna-29655/text36623, accessed 27 May 2021.
[144] Russell, Penny. 'Girl in a Red Dress: Inventions of Mathinna'. *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 43, no. 3, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1031461X.2012.706627. Accessed 17 Mar. 2021, p. 345.
[145] Franklin, Jane. Letter to Mary Simpkinson, 8 March 1843, quoted in Russell, Penny. 'Girl in a Red Dress: Inventions of Mathinna', p. 346.
[146] *Ibid*.
[147] *Ibid*. p. 347.

there were some elements that undermined this success and brought Mathinna back to her Aboriginal heritage.[148]

2.2.3. Curriculum and providers of education

a) Missionary education

Schools were generally established close to the villages, but as time and laws passed, the distance between villages and schools increased. State governments in Australia and New Zealand progressively gained control on the educational policies over the missionaries in the 1860s, and after this period schools were mainly residential. In general, children stayed at school and slept in dormitories. Between the 1810s and the 1860s, missionary schools were in majority the providers of education for Maori and Aboriginal children.[149] Different missionary groups were present in Australia and New Zealand, the specifies of each will be studied in the third part. The first missionaries to arrive in New Zealand were sent by the Church of England in 1814. There were three main denominations represented: The Church of England, operating through the influential Church Missionary Society; the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics.[150] According to E. W Parsonage, the first missions in New Zealand did not receive financial support from the government. The missionary societies and sometimes the missionaries themselves provided the funds for buying the necessary supplies.[151] Missionary efforts had concentrated primarily on education as a path towards conversion: a means to a religious end rather than an end in itself.[152] The saving of children's minds was seen as a way to save their souls.

We will compare the education provided by missionaries in New Zealand and Australia between the 1830s and the 1870s. Even if there were differences between the multiple missionary schools in each country, these schools generally relied on the same curriculum.

To illustrate schooling in New Zealand, the study of the mission school of Robert Maunsell is revealing. It shows the progressive implication of the New Zealander government in the

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[148] *Ibid*.

[149] The Native Institution created by Gov. Macquarie in New South Wales was an exception. It lasted discontinuously from 1814 to 1830, there was a boarding school for children between four- and seven-year-old. "Children were to learn reading, writing and arithmetic, with boys being instructed in agriculture, mechanical arts and manufacture while girls learned needle-work." Burridge, N., and Chodkiewicz, A. 'An Historical Overview of Aboriginal Education Policies in the Australian Context'. *Indigenous Education*, vol. 86, Jan. 2012, p. 13.

[150] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand,* p. 134.

[151] Parsonage, E. W. 'The Education of Maoris in New Zealand'. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 65, no. 1, 1956. P. 5.

[152] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 5.

education of young Maoris. In this part we will only the study the secular aspects of this education, but it is important to keep in mind that the saving of their souls that could be achieved by conversion was the main goal of Maunsell and other missionaries (also in Australia) who ran the schools. He established his schools in the region of Waikato on the North Island: he developed Maori run village schools and mission stations in the area. He and Hamlin, another missionary, established fourteen schools in this region of New Zealand. In the first school he established in 1839, seventy children followed his curriculum.[153] In 1840 the public examinations attracted 1500 people, of whom 300 were examined in writing, ciphering and history which confirmed the desire of the Maori to benefit of literacy.[154] The schools developed to such an extent that George Clarke (the chief protector of Aborigines) noted, travelling in the Waikato and Thames districts in the late 1840s, that there was "scarcely a village without its own school"[155]. According to Russell Bishop, the fact that the context for learning remained Maori caused Maunsell to create a new institution, "ostensibly beyond their control."[156] Maunsell did not doubt the capacity of the Maoris to acquire secular knowledge and manual skills, but he questioned the reasons that made them accept Christianity, and to prevent the "assimilation" of Christianity to their traditional beliefs, he created boarding schools.[157] As a figure of authority concerning the education of Maoris, he advocated for the Education Ordinance proposed by Governor Grey in 1847. This ordinance proved the will of the governments to take part in the educational process. Missionaries were to remain the main providers, but a governmental budget was allocated for the inspection of the schools by inspectors appointed by the Governor. Apart from religious education, which was also made facultative in more secular schools, this ordinance emphasised "industrial training and instruction in the English language."[158] The New Zealand government provided the funds to help run the schools, but it meant that the missionaries were progressively losing control of the curriculum because they were now subjects to inspections. The government of New Zealand progressively gained control of the education of young Maoris over the missionaries. The *Native Schools Act* of 1858 allocated an annual sum of £7,000 for the schools and added the stipulation that Māori students at the schools must live away from their kāinga (villages) in a boarding situation. By 1851 between 700 and 800

[153] "As early as the end of July 1839, there was an average daily attendance of seventy scholars at the school" (Maunsell to C.M.S., 30 July 1839) quoted in Bishop, Russell. 'The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation'. *Access: Contemporary Issues in Education*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1992, pp. 66–76. P. 68.

[154] *Ibid*.

[155] *Ibid*. p. 69.

[156] *Ibid*. That is to say, the Boarding school.

[157] This aspect of the "incorporation" of Christian religion into traditional spiritual Maori beliefs will be studied in the third part.

[158] Calman, Ross. 'Māori education – mātauranga - Missionaries and the early colonial period', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. See image 2 in the table of illustration for an extract of the ordinance.

Māori attended the government-supported schools, considerably fewer than the numbers attending mission schools in the 1830s.[159] By the 1860s, the educational laws like the *Native School Act* from 1867 were passed which gave control on education to the Native Department (created in 1861).[160] This act provided for the establishment of schools in each community.

Progressively, Maori language was abandoned and even condemned in schools whereas it had been permitted in missionary schools from the 1830s to the 1860s. They had been allowed to keep their native tongue, a part of their cultural heritage which use facilitated the acquisition of English,[161] until the amendment to the *Native School Act* of 1871 which made English the only language authorized in schools. It is argued that in 1840 "a large proportion of the Maori population could read and write in their own language."[162] By the 1860s, in Australia and New Zealand most schools had close. The causes of their "failures" were attributed to various elements which will be studied in the last sub-part.

b) Government schools: between integration and exclusion

Up until the 1860s, schooling for Maoris and Aboriginals had been provided almost exclusively by missionaries.[163] By the end of the 19th century, many colonial governments saw missionary education to be outdated and instead advocated for modern, scientific and secular forms of education, implementing a more marked division between religious and secular subjects.[164] The curriculum was to be "the ordinary subjects of English Primary education (Barrington 1970: 29)."[165]

Even if the government seemed encourage the schooling of Indigenous peoples in New Zealand, it was different in Australia, where they excluded the Aboriginals from the government schools, preferring to rely on the control of the education provided by missionaries. As early as 1848 the suggestion of including Aboriginal children in government schools was rejected by the Board of Education in Western Australia. The New South Wales government tried to take a responsibility for school education by establishing in 1848 a secular Board of National Education that operated

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[159] *Ibid*.

[160] Parsonage, E. W. "The education of Maoris in New Zealand". *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 65, no. 1, Polynesian Society, 1956, p. 6.

[161] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. P. 156.

[162] Harker, R. K. "European Attitudes and Policy toward the Education of Maori in New Zealand", p. 60, quoting Beaglehole T. H. "The Missionary Schools, 1816-1840", 1970.

[163] Even if this essay focuses mainly on education before the educational laws, it seems important to mention the increasing role of the governments in indigenous children's education.

[164] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I: Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions", p. 297.

[165] Harker, R. K. "European Attitudes and Policy toward the Education of Maori in New Zealand", p.60.

alongside a religious schools board, but Aboriginal children were excluded from these schools.[166] Milnes has argued in the Western Australia context that, at least in the nineteenth century,

> Aboriginal educational policy was informed by the generally exclusionist thought in European minds. From the beginning, Aboriginal institutions were separated... (and) Aborigines were to be kept apart and trained separately." [167]

This exclusion policy continued until the 1880 but there are examples of Aboriginal children gaining access to government primary schools.[168] We can see a difference between early schooling in Australia and New Zealand: in Maunsell's school, Maori children were taught in the same structure than Pakeha children whereas in Australia, indigenous children and Europeans were kept separated. In Australia, the separation of indigenous children from the settlers was justified by the evil influence of the convicts who could "corrupt" the minds of these children, what would complicate the saving of their minds.[169] The different context in New Zealand, where settlers were considered more trust-worthy since it was not a penal colony led to a lesser division of indigenous and European children, who were taught in the same establishments even if they were in different classes. As A.R Welch argues: "If Aboriginal people were afforded schooling at all, it was mostly very rudimentary in form, leading only to the most basic occupations (housework for girls, unskilled farm work for boys). Curriculum was based on the 4 Rs: Reading, Writing, Reckoning (arithmetic) and (the Christian) Religion."[170]

c) Curriculum: literacy, industrial education

> Education usually embraced the promotion of white, bourgeois values and institutions, which it was felt would raise Aboriginals from a state of savagery to something almost human. In this process of education, it was rarely if ever argued that simple literacy and numeracy were sufficient.[171]

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[166] Burridge, N., and Chodkiewicz, A. "An Historical Overview of Aboriginal Education Policies in the Australian Context". The Board noted that it was "impracticable to provide any form of educational facilities for the children of the Blacks". pp. 13-14.
[167] Milnes, P. "A history of the education of Aborigines in Western Australia with particular reference the Goldfields district since 1927", *unpublished Ph.D. thesis*, university of New England, p. 36. Quoted in Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 209.
[168] Burridge, N., and Chodkiewicz, A. "An Historical Overview of Aboriginal Education Policies in the Australian Context". For example, at Rooty Hill in Sydney there were 25 Aboriginal children who were enrolled in government schools.
[169] O'Brien, Anne. "Creating the Aboriginal Pauper: Missionary Ideas in Early 19th Century Australia" p. 10.
[170] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 207.
[171] *Ibid*. pp. 209-10.

Indeed, the indigenous children were to occupy a lower position than the Europeans in the British society of the colonies, so their education was limited to basic knowledge, as we will see with the examples of their curriculum in Australia and New Zealand. The pretexted saving of their minds was actually very limited by the strong orientation of their education towards domestic and manual chores. The aim of the schools was not only to teach literacy and industrial knowledge, but it was to introduce the Indigenous to the European way of life.[172] To this extent, the saving of children's minds passed by the control of children's bodies: to name of few example, they were to be dressed in the European fashion and imposed an English diet.[173] To thwart the increasing governmental control in New Zealand, Maunsell tried to render his schools self-sufficient which developed another aspect of the curriculum: agricultural skills.

> The Institution comprises four different departments, viz. 1. Boys' School. 2. Girls' School. 3. Adult men and women under instruction. 4. Pakeha Pupils ... The boys are taught reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, pronunciation of English, Scripture History, and the Church Catechism ... Out of School they are chiefly employed in tending the sheep and cattle of the Institution, in milking, in the garden, or other cultivations; assisting the carpenter, post and rail fencer; in some parts of the house duties, in cooking food for the boys' school, working the oxen and horses, sewing ... The girls receive in school nearly the same instruction as the boys, and out of school are employed in duties in the missionary's family, in washing, ironing, sewing, and cooking food for the girls' school (Maunsell, 1849: 30-31).[174]

The children helped keep the school running, and this time was not used for lessons. Manual skills progressively encroached on the saving of children's minds by secular education. But at the same time, it taught them the notions of hard-work and self-reliance, dear to the Anglican church. Maunsell defended the need to "judiciously feed their minds with knowledge while employ(ing) their hands in action" (Maunsell, 1849: 10).[175] Reading, farming and simple industrial skills were the core curriculum of the village schools that Maunsell established.[176] In Australia, the curriculum was not very different: The curriculum was in English, and apart from the 4Rs (reading, writing, reckoning and religion) manual training became more important as the years went by. Girls

[172] This dimension will be studied in the third part because these values were attached to the promotion of Christian religion (for example the protestant work ethic).
[173] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p. 72.
[174] *Ibid*. p. 71.
[175] *Ibid*. p. 72.
[176] *Ibid*. p. 68.

learned domestic chores, while boys may have had opportunities to undertake a limited form of apprenticeship.[177] The same division between boys and girls can be observed in Australia and New Zealand. The prejudice that the indigenous peoples were inferior to Europeans can be seen in the importance of manual education in the curriculum. Children were to constitute, once adults, a workforce put to the service of white industrials in the area. Girls and boys would respectively occupy the position of domestic or agricultural employees. In the case of Australia, Welch argues that this curriculum which favoured industrial education served as an instrument of "'internal colonialism by socialising the colonised into an acceptance of inferior status, power and wealth."[178] This curriculum centred on Industrial skills was encouraged in New Zealand by the enforcement of the *Neglected and Criminal Children Act* in 1867. This act was aimed at youth and led to the establishment of industrial schools.[179] If the curriculum in Australia and New Zealand was similar, the implication of local populations in the educational strategies was very different.

d) The implication of local populations

In the case of New Zealand, Maoris were actors of their education. Local populations were engaged in the civilising process: the missionaries put some of them, the "native instructors" in charge of the children, but under the surveillance of a European missionary.[180] This active role in the education of the children was not mentioned in settlers' journals of Australia, which can mean that the missionaries in Australia relied less on local populations. One of the attitudes that was often remarked in the Maoris was their pride, and it would seem that they took pride in teaching others. They taught children and adults to read and write in English and in Maori. One of the particularities of New Zealand was that the teaching was permitted in Maori until the educational law of 1867 and its amendment of 1871. The report of the Select Committee stated that "in New Zealand schools are established in the villages, under the direction of native youths, superintended by the missionaries, who visit them once a month."[181] It proves that the Maoris were not passive concerning education: they were not only recipients but also providers, which constitutes a major difference with the Australian Aboriginals. They played an active role and contributed to the spread of British civilisation and

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[177] Welch, A. R. "Internal Colonialism", p. 208.
[178] *Ibid*. p. 206.
[179] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand*, p.161.
[180] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 2, 1847, p. 10: "not only do the young people, in this way (studying the scriptures and arithmetic with European missionaries), improve themselves in education, but they are very fond of teaching others; and many individuals in the interior, who had no instruction whatever from the missionaries, have acquired the arts of reading and writing, merely by aid of these native instructors."
[181] *Report of Parliament Select Committee on Aboriginal tribes*, 1837, p. 79.

the so-called “saving” of their own children’s minds. Maunsell received the help of the native teachers in his boarding school. Russell Bishop argued that Maunsell saw them as having a great potential, but not really being able to conduct such a boarding institution. He considered that “a native cannot at present bear well such stimulants without injury. The missionary must keep a steady and constant eye upon the whole system” (Maunsell, 1849).[182] Even when local populations were active, they were still dominated by the missionaries and had no influence on the curriculum.

2.3. Results and consequences of the educational policies

Early attempts of civilising the Indigenous people were largely considered as failures. As Nina Burridge and Andrew Chodkiewicz pointed, the Native Institution of Parramatta was closed rapidly, same as Tuckfield’s Buntingdale mission which closed in the early 1840s.[183] Even if the missionaries and other settlers saw hopes in the educability of the children, they were often mocked, and their attempts were considered as "useless attempts to teach a half-dozen children to spell or scratch unintelligible hieroglyphics on slates.”[184] The positive feedbacks of missionaries were undermined by the prejudice of the “ineducability of the natives” and those who advocated for this prejudice found a confirmation of it in the closing of schools or the lack of attendance.

2.3.1. “Improvement” of the children and success of missionary schools in carrying “civilisation”

> “It is an undoubted fact that the native village schools are working great good amongst the Maoris of the North ... as a proof of which I may point out the very orderly and law-abiding conduct of the North Island natives in comparison with that of the more ignorant South Island tribes … I believe that this state of things is in a great measure to be attributed to the establishment of native schools, as they have done much to give the Maoris a better knowledge of our manners and customs than they have had hitherto, and which they duly appreciate and are in many ways attempting to imitate.”[185]

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[182] Bishop, Russell. “The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation” p. 73.

[183] Barry, Amanda. “‘Equal to Children of European Origin’ Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia”, p. 10. Tuckfield was a Wesleyan missionary who opened a mission school in Victoria, far from the “evil” influence of white settlers. He was optimistic in the saving of the minds of Aboriginal children and thought that they “manifested an aptitude for learning equal to children of European origin.” *Report of the Wesleyan Mission Society’s Mission to the Aborigines of Port Phillip from November 1840 to December 1841* quoted in Barry, Amanda, op. cited.

[184] Welch, A. R. “Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism”, p. 208.

[185] Harker, R. K. “European Attitudes and Policy toward the Education of Maori in New Zealand”, p. 61.

It is argued in this report from an inspector in Hokianga, that the effects of Maori education since the 1840s were positive. Not only children had learnt the English language, but they had also learnt the British way of life. In Australia, before the separation between Aboriginal and European children, Bonwick, quoting Edward Stone Parker,[186] noted the positive aspects of the mingling of two "races" and the positive influence of European children on the Aboriginals:

> 'Where the youths have been placed at school along with those of our own race, they have not been slow in the acquisition of knowledge. Having had at various times some of the young people at our table, we can bear witness to the shrewdness of their observations and their pleasure in receiving information. Having repeatedly addressed them when assembled in school we have not remarked a laxity of attention, a torpidity of mind, or a want of sympathy with the subject of address.' Mr. Protector Parker went perhaps too far in saying, 'They are just as capable of receiving instruction, just as capable of mental exercises as any more favoured race.' It is certain that they learn to read and write with facility, but they never accomplish much in arithmetic.[187]

Parker questioned the prejudice according to which Aboriginals were inferior of Europeans. They did not appear to lack "concentrativeness" as other settlers had previously argued. Bonwick moderated Parker's words, implying that, even if they were as able as Europeans in literacy, they still were inferior to them in other subjects, the first being arithmetic.

Bonwick continued:

> They are naturally indolent, and care not to exert themselves for anything in which they are not interested, and in which they perceive no possibility of personal advantage: With oral lessons we have found them quite delighted, especially if a little fun be thrown into the exercise. We have been, on several occasions, interrupted in our lecture by load bursts of merriment, accompanied by spasmodic action of legs and arms, when something had been said which excited their love for the comical. In geography they take much pleasure. An aboriginal boy, in the Normal School of Sydney, carried off the prize for geography from all his white

[186] Edward Stone Parker (1802-1865), assistant protector of Aboriginals and Methodist preacher, In 1838 he was in charge of a Methodist day school in Greater Queen Street, London, when the Colonial Office appointed him assistant protector of Aboriginals in the Port Phillip District, one of four to serve under G. A. Robinson (with William Thomas, who was already mentioned in this essay).

[187] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 32.

> compeers. Mr. Thomas speaks highly of their capacity for language and says: — "They pronounce English far better than half the Scotch or Irish emigrants."[188]

It seems that oral education, was an effective educational strategy, perhaps because Aboriginals were already used to it since it was the mode of education of their parents. However, Bonwick also insisted on their lack of discipline and attention, perceptible in their spasmodic movements. George French Angas, in the case of New Zealand, used the story of a young boy who had been adopted by a crew of whaler to demonstrate the educability of Maori children.

> He is now in Sydney, adopted by a gentleman in the audit Office, who is giving him an education. He is supposed to be ten years of age, can read and write uncommonly well, considering the time he has spent at school, and lately obtained a prize at a public examination."[189]

Although there were numerous examples which demonstrated the abilities of Aboriginals and Maoris, they were considered as "exceptions". Even if missionaries were impressed by their intelligence, the pleasure they found in being taught, the quickness of their acquisition of English, and the fact that they sometimes demonstrated an "aptitude for learning equal to children of European origin"[190], missionaries views were exceptional[191] and the failure of the missions, were attributed to the "ineducability of native children", even if in most cases it was due to the pollical context or the methods used to teach children. Moreover, the systems of education of Australia and New Zealand were limited to the most basic knowledge, which prevented the demonstration of the equal educability between Indigenous and European children.

2.3.2. The failure of the early missions

These early attempts to protect and "civilise" the Aboriginals were not successful. In Australia and New Zealand, the spread of the "British way of life" and British values was complicated by the will of Indigenous peoples to maintain their own beliefs and lifestyles. Armitage argues that Aboriginals only stayed in the vicinity of Parramatta and similar institutions to receive

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[188] *Ibid.*

[189] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand,* p. 207.

[190] *Report of the Wesleyan Mission Society's Mission to the Aborigines of Port Phillip from November 1840 to December 1841*, quoted in Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 10.

[191] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 210.

rations, blankets, or other benefits.[192] This difficulty to civilize the Aboriginals led to the establishment of a "more thorough and formal control over the lives of Aboriginals through the establishment of the Aborigines Protection Board."[193] When in most cases the schools closed because of the lack of financing or because of the tensed context (either between tribes or between settlers and Indigenous), the reasons for the closing of establishment was put on the inferiority of indigenous races. Some settlers found in the closing of schools a confirmation of the supposed "inferiority of the natives". As Kociumbas argues, "expert 'proof' of aboriginal mental inferiority could be used to explain why the first round of missionary education had failed and suggest the need for new more scientific and coercive methods."[194]

The quarrels were a major cause of the closing of establishments. Bonwick took the example of the previously mentioned Buntingdale mission founded by Tuckfield:

> And yet very soon after this [the positive report of Tuckfield] the signs of rapid decline appeared, disputes with other tribes arose, blood was shed, the mission premises were deserted, the teachers retired."[195]

In New Zealand, the same problem was observed during the New Zealand wars. On the failing of some missions Harker argued that

> A variety of factors however led to a significant decline in schooling over the next decades. These factors included a growing Maori nationalism, the reluctance of Maori parents to be separated from their children, and the Land Wars. By 1865 it was estimated that only 22 Maori pupils were attending any form of school in the colony (Barrington 1970: 28). [196]

The creation of boarding schools also proved a counterproductive solution when not enforced by law because once the parents noticed that they were kept separated from their children, they sometimes refused to let them go to school. The policy of exclusion in Australia was also detrimental the education of Aboriginal by white settlers. In New South Wales in the late nineteenth century, it was estimated that no more than one Aboriginal child in nine of school age was actually attending the public schools, and this was at least partly due to the practice of

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[192] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand,* p. 17.
[193] *Ibid*. p. 42.
[194] Kociumbas, Jan. *The Oxford History of Australia, Possessions 1770-1860*, p. 277.
[195] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 61.
[196] Harker, R. K. "European Attitudes and Policy toward the Education of Maori in New Zealand", p. 60.

exclusion.[197] The treatment of children in schools was also a reason for the closing of establishments. Concerning Maunsell's mission schools in Waikato, Doubts were raised by· Maori parents about the reason for the school existing at all, with its lack of recreation, holidays, and emphasis on work.[198] Children trying to escape such schools, and sometimes dying in the attempt,[199] were proof of the counterproductive methods of some missionaries, who instead of promoting Western values to indigenous children, actually repelled children and their parents from these values by forcing them into adopting them.

2.3.3. The consequences on Aboriginal and Maori tribes

a) The cultural genocide

The main problem with the education of indigenous children by white settlers was that the education they received, instead of being added to the one they received by their parents actually replaced it.[200] It cannot be disputed that the education of Maori and Aboriginals was culturally destructive "breaking down traditional family structures, erasing language and cultural practice", what Welch called "internal colonialism."[201]

They were not consulted on the curriculum or even if they wanted to receive education. "The schools were formed to supplant rather than supplement parental training through the ordering of young children's minds and bodies."[202] Since parents were not considered good examples or good providers of education for their children, the missionaries and later the governments would consider it their responsibility to save children's minds. "In South Australia, early efforts at the 'education and civilisation' of Aboriginal peoples amounted to little more than a sustained onslaught on Aboriginal cultures." [203] Indigenous people, as Welch argues, were never consulted on the subjects that were taught in school. In a larger extent, they were never consulted on their own saving, and in the case of education on the saving of their minds.

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[197] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 208.
[198] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p. 72.
[199] The example of a young girl dying from a "cold" (or from mistreatments according to the Maoris) after her escape from the Clarke's infant school is given in Prochner, Larry. "The Blessings of civilization: nineteenth - century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s" p. 97.
[200] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 12. "As far as missionaries and protectors were concerned, learning of any sort was always based on replacing, rather than adding to, Indigenous culture."
[201] *Ibid*. p. 12.
[202] Prochner, Larry. "The Blessings of civilization'", p. 100.
[203] Welch, A. R. "Internal colonialism", p. 208.

> both mission education and the development of day schools had the effect of taking the process of education out of the hands of the Maori family and its elders. With an increasing focus on literacy, the Bible and European values an hiatus in Maori cultural continuity was created. (1975: 36). [204]

The extensive removal of children increased the destruction of Maori and Aboriginal cultures by breaking the link of transmission between elders and children. The fact that these cultures were transmitted orally also contributed to this destruction. The purpose of the European education was also questioned by the parents and sometimes by settlers and politicians like for example George Grey, who condemned the idea that these children were to occupy the lowest jobs.

b) What place for them in the British society?

George Grey was an advocate for the removal of children to pursue their assimilation in the British society, but he thought that it presented difficulties. In his "Report upon the best Means of Promoting the Civilisation of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia", he pointed to these difficulties.

> If this native child is a boy, who is to pay the individual who undertakes to teach him some calling, the fee usually given with an apprentice; who will indemnify this person for the time he spends in instructing the boy before he can derive any benefit from his labour, or for the risk he incurs of the boy's services being bestowed elsewhere as soon as they are worth having? […] Until this difficulty is got over, it appears evident that the natives will only be employed in herding cattle, of in the lowest order of manual labour, which requires no skill, and for which the reward they receive will be so small, as scarcely to offer an inducement to them to quit their present wandering mode of life.[205]

The financial cost of this education was one of the main reasons why establishments closed, as we have seen. The form of apprenticeship which could eventually be permitted for Aboriginal boys is considered too expensive and the result too uncertain. The child might want to go back to his family or offer his services somewhere else after having been taught. That was why children were to receive only the most basic education to occupy jobs in the "lowest order of manual labour" and by being offered such employments for small rewards, it was normal that they did not want to remain "civilised" and preferred to return to their families and tribes when it was possible. Grey

[204] Harker, R. K. "European Attitudes and Policy toward the Education of Maori in New Zealand", p. 60.
[205] Grey, George. *Journals of Two Expeditions of discovery in North-West and Western Australia during the year 1837, 38, and 39*, vol. 2, p. 382.

took the example of young Aborigines, Miago, who after receiving education preferred to return to the bush:

> He had two courses left open to him, —he could either have renounced all natural ties, and have led a hopeless, joyless life amongst the whites, —ever a servant,— ever an inferior being;—or he could renounce civilization, and return to the friends of his childhood, and to the habits of his youth. He chose the latter course, and I think that I should have done the same. [206]

The prevailing racism in Australia and New Zealand contributed to the rejection of Indigenous people and clashed with the theories of assimilation promoted by Grey. He insisted on the importance of treating the children well, so they want to remain civilised. Eventually, the education of indigenous children between 1840s and the 1870s was little more than a failed and destructive social experiment. Even if children demonstrated abilities equal to children of European origin, they did not receive the same education and the optimistic saving of their minds resulted in a curriculum centred on industrial, agricultural, and domestic skills. This curriculum was influenced by ideas of European superiority which relegated indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand to the lowest level of the social pyramid.

Conclusion 2

It appeared important to dedicate a third of this part to the education young Aboriginals and Maoris received in their tribes. This system of education contrasted with European views. It was not organised in schools, it was based on experience and imitation and taught them practical skills infused with spiritual beliefs. This education was disregarded by Europeans who perceived in it a lack of moral education and of restraint. This so-called “saving” of children’s minds was made necessary after the observation of children’s education in their tribes. Children needed to receive a stricter education which would allow their assimilation in the British society. Education provided first by missionaries and then by government was mainly centred on the teaching of English and of manual skills. The “civilisation” of children was supposed to allow their assimilation in the British society and strategies like the removal of children from their families were presented as the best means to carry civilisation. But the early attempts to educate and civilise the children, to save their minds were perceived as failures because children returned to their families or because mission schools closed due to the lack of attendance or the political context. Racism and

[206] *Ibid*. p. 372.

prejudices of Indigenous mental inferiority also thwarted missionaries' and governments' efforts in this saving.

However, even if there were a lot of similarities between Australia and New Zealand (the curriculum, the progressive governmental implication, the education children received in their tribes) there were also major differences which were based on the prejudices that Aboriginals were inferior to Maoris. Maoris were part of the educational process and the removal of children was not seen as the only way to carry civilisation and as Fae Dussart and Alan Lester argue,

> Whereas Aboriginals had to be severed from all ties with their communities to have any chance of individual reclamation (an idea that as we have seen Parker reinforced), Maori youth could be taught to become role models upon reintegration with their own, more advanced, communities.[207]

Their return to their tribes was not perceived as a failure but as a benefit, in opposition with the Aboriginals. [208]

Even if indigenous children demonstrated intellectual capacities equal to those of children of European origin, they were not given the same education. The saving of their minds was limited by the curriculum centred on industrial skills. The saving of children's minds was a pretext for further intervention, as it was the case for the saving of children's bodies. The main aim of education was not the saving of children's minds, but the spread of Christianity and the instillation of British values. A "hidden curriculum", based on religious education and the promotion of English values would permit the saving of children's souls. Missionary schools were at the same the medium of civilisation and of Christianisation. The idea that these two missions were inseparable and that only by their complementary influence indigenous people could be saved was widely spread. The Select committee of 1837 insisted on the moral of white settlers to promote civilisation and Christianisation among the Indigenous to make amend for the wrongs of colonisation. Civilisation and Christianisation were a form of compensation. It was the duty of settlers and governments to save children from barbarism and from disappearance.

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[207] Lester, Alan, Dussart, Fae. *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance, Protecting Aborigines across the 19th century British Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 2014. P. 195.

[208] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized* p, 331. "From these places his Lordship brings away heathen youths; and at Auckland he and the Rev. Mr. Patteson, his zealous and able assistant, instruct them in Christianity and letters; the lads are then taken back to their homes, and exhorted to spread abroad among their countrymen what they have learned."

3. The saving of children's souls: the religious education of children

The spread of Christianity was primordial in settlers' imperialism. The aim of missionaries was to save souls, to Christianise the heathens, the barbarous tribes of the colonial empire. Considering the religious influence in settlers' policies and journals, it is not a coincidence that the saving of children formed a trinity which this essay is following, going from the lowest, more material saving (the body) to the highest, more spiritual saving, the saving of the soul. The saving of the body and the mind of children was not sufficient. Secular schooling, the teaching of the English language and the European way of life were only the beginning of the civilising process, which could only be complete with the adoption of Christianity. The saving of souls, the salvation of indigenous peoples was considered the highest mission of white humanitarians.

> An inferior kind of civilisation may precede Christianity and prevail without it to a limited extent; such, for instance, as the adoption, by comparatively rude tribes, of the dress and modes of living of more cultivated society, a taste for their arts, manufactures and comforts. All this may occur without any change of character. this kind of civilization is only superficial; it may polish and smooth the exterior of human society, but it leaves the deep foundations of crime and wretchedness, the vices of human nature, which are the causes of all barbarism in every part of the world, untouched, and consequently supplies no sufficient remedy for the evils to be removed.[209]

Civilisation, along with Christianisation were seen as a divine mission and obligation by settlers but also as a compensation for all the wrongs the Indigenous had suffered and were suffering because of the presence of Europeans.

> As our settlements must be attended with some evils to them [Indigenous people], it is our duty to give them compensation for those evils, by imparting the truths of Christianity and the arts of civilised life. [210]

[209] Ellis William, head of the London Missionary Society (LMS), cited in Dussart, Fae and Lester, Alan. *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian governance, Protecting Aborigines across the 19th century British Empire*, p. 96.

[210] Buxton to Rev. D. Philip, Cape Town, 17 January 1834, quoted in Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 5.

The 1837 report expresses a sense of paternalistic responsibility. The committee argued, "we are under an obligation to confer upon [Indigenous peoples] all the benefits of knowledge, civilization, education and Christianity that it is in our power to bestow." [211] As Amanda Barry expresses it in her article, this report is widely seen as the exemplar of the Protestant humanitarian drive towards colonial education, evangelism and reform. The committee concluded that 'there is but one effectual means of staying the evils we have occasioned … and that is, the propagation of Christianity.'[212] The role of the British Empire should be to "promote the spread of civilization amongst [Indigenous people] and lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion." The spread of civilisation and Christianity was a providential mission that was incumbent upon the white settlers. Buxton[213] and the other settlers took on what would be called later by Kipling in 1899 the "white man's burden" of bringing Christianity to the 'uncivilised' world as part and parcel of the expansion of the British Empire. It was considered, as we have seen, that children were more receptive than their parents in the inculcation of European values and religion and that they could be instrument in the conversion of their parents. The aim of the missionary schools children attended was ultimately the conversion of children who entered in the right faith by the sacrament of baptism. Children first needed to be weaned from their pagan beliefs.

3.1. Indigenous spiritual and religious education

Maoris and Aboriginals were religious peoples, even if this was not always acknowledged by settlers. Their children received a spiritual education as well as a practical one (that we studied in the previous part). Angas and Grey, in the case of New Zealand, gave precise descriptions of the religious beliefs and practices of the Maoris and Bonwick reported a few religious practices of Aboriginals in his account of Australia. As we will see, it was considered a subject of curiosity but it had to be abandoned by indigenous peoples in the process of proselytism in order to save their souls.

3.1.1. The religious education children received

[211] *Report of the Select Committee*, 1837, p. 57.
[212] Barry, Amanda. '"Equal to children of European origin": Educability and the civilising mission in early colonial Australia', p. 7
[213] The president of the Select Committee on Aboriginal tribes of 1837.

Both cultures were attached to their land and attributed to it a spiritual value. For Aboriginal peoples of Australia, Welch argued that

> Education was unitary and unifying: it explained one's role and place in society, one's relationship to the land, to kin, and to spirit ancestors. Birth was not the beginning of life, death not the end. Spiritual beliefs were expressed through art, music, dance and stories, each of which was learned and refined over the life course. More sophisticated understandings came with adulthood, and later life. (…) Education was informal and deeply held spiritual values, that linked people to animals, the land, and a continuity of existence. People came from the dreamtime (spirit world), were attached to the land and their totem, and returned to the dreamtime after death.[214]

The Aboriginal cosmology was more complex than settlers wanted to recognise. Settlers described them as barbarous peoples, polygamists, practicing human sacrifices, infanticides etc. They were deemed as heathens lacking moral sense and requiring white men's intervention to bring them into the right faith. Their religious beliefs were disregarded, even if spirituality infused their whole life and education. Bonwick stated that they were "a godless, prayerless race." He continued, taking the example of the Port Phillip Aboriginals that "those who were best acquainted with the Port Phillip blacks, as the Protectors, agreed in regarding them as destitute of any definite notion as to the existence of a Supreme Being." [215] However, Mr. Protector Parker wrote in 1844,

> Further communication has induced a conviction that a traditional mythology exists among them, rude and obscure, indeed, but in all probability the indistinct relics of some older and more complete system… they have an idea of ghosts, spirits, and other imaginary beings.[216]

It was considered a primitive religion based on a traditional mythology. Aboriginal education was entirely non-secular: all the activities, social interactions were informed by religious beliefs and they considered that the features of the land were products of spirit ancestors. The oral traditions (legends, songs and stories) were transmitted from a generation to another and education was never complete, adults acquired new knowledges and rituals.[217] The Maoris also had a complex

[214] Welch A. R. et al. "Aboriginal Education in Australia: Policies, Problems, Prospects". P. 1
[215] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 51.
[216] *Ibid*. pp. 54-55.
[217] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 207.

cosmology, which is described in Arthur Saunders Thomson's accounts of New Zealand: *The Story of New Zealand: past and present, savage and civilised.*[218]

> To these gods they addressed prayers. From Tane Mahuta they asked for abundance of forest birds, insects, and all things fashioned from wood; from Tangaroa they prayed for fish; from Rongomatane for fertile crops of sweet potatoes and all cultivated food; from Haumeatikitiki for fern root and all sorts of wild food; from Tumatauenga for success in war, and to him they offered the body of the first person slain in battle. To Tawhirimatea they prayed for favourable winds; to their mother Heaven, for fine weather, and to their father Earth for abundance. (…) The New Zealanders believed that several high chiefs after death became deified, and that from them all punishments in this world for evil doings were sent. (…) The religious belief of the New Zealanders was that *which belongs to the infancy of a race*. It was a religion dictated by wants and fears.[219]

As for the Aboriginals, religion was part of everyday life and was intrinsically bound to nature and to the land. Their prayers possessed, according to Thomson, a strong material orientation: the asked their gods for food, fine weather, abundance, all the things that permitted the survival of the tribe. That is what Thomson expressed when he said that the religion was "dictated by wants and fears", he also considered that these beliefs made the Maoris a primitive race. Thomson also mentioned the organisation and transmission of these religious beliefs:

> The priesthood, the ambassadors of the gods on earth, were derived from the noblest families in the land, and in every nation, there were several priests. The offices of chief and priest were generally united and hereditary. A sacred halo encircled the priesthood. Priests had their own peculiar prayers which they used in addressing the gods. (…) They instilled into their children's minds the now unintelligible chants in which they addressed the gods. (…) It was their duty to instruct their children in the songs and traditions of the people.[220]

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[218] We can clearly see the duality between "savage" peoples and "civilised" and the influence of white settlers in the process. The aim of this account is the show the progress of the Maoris towards the right faith and the division of this account between the past and the present is perceptible through the chapters which echoed one another. A chapter of the first part is devoted to the Maori traditions and the last chapter of the second part to the successful influence of settlers in civilising and Christianising the heathens.

[219] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized*, pp. 109-14.

[220] *Ibid*. pp. 114-5.

The religious instruction of children was left to the care of what Thomson called “priest”, which shows he was influenced in his perception by a European background. The religious beliefs were transmitted to children orally by chants and songs. We cannot talk as a single Maori or aboriginal religion, each had local particularities and rites differed between tribes but it tended to be reduced to a single religion in each country in settlers’ accounts. What we can observe from settlers’ journals is that spiritual beliefs of Indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand were each based on rituals such as songs or dances. To the eyes of settlers, the spirituality of Maoris and Aboriginals seemed “primitive”, based on superstitions and they considered that it was their duty to make Indigenous overcome these superstitions and embrace the right, superior faith: Christianity. The Theory of the survival of the fittest developed by Darwin and used by settlers to justify the disappearance of Indigenous peoples in front of the Europeans can be applied to religion. The primitive, barbarous religions were to disappear in front of Christianity. In this way, Christianity and the destruction of Indigenous spirituality appeared as a natural process justified by a scientific theory.

3.1.2. An object of curiosity

The fact that Maoris and Aboriginals spiritual beliefs were described in settlers’ accounts does not mean that the settlers considered them worthy of preservation. The reasons for them to put these beliefs on papers were multiple. It can be argued that they used these accounts to underline the “primitivity” of Aboriginals and Maoris which reinforced their need of Christian salvation. In Thomson’s accounts of New Zealand, in the chapter on their religious beliefs, we can argue that the narrative is made to entertain the reader by presenting him a “strange” religion. It should be kept in mind that these accounts of Australia and New Zealand were first and foremost impressions of settlers and that they could be read as literary works at a time when readers‘ appetite was excited by travel narratives. This sense of fiction can be seen in the vocabulary used by Thomson. He emphasised the role of “sorcerers” who could “bewitch” people and described Maoris’ beliefs as “amusing stories” and “superstitions”.[221] Under this angle, the preservation of such cultures by their description in settlers’ accounts would be a mere side-effect of the will of writers to entertain their readers or to point to the primitivity of these cultures to justify the spread of Christianity.

Spiritual beliefs of indigenous peoples were an object of curiosity. As argued Russell Bishop,

[221] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized,* p. 118.

> Like Grey, Maunsell saw traditional Maori cosmology (and their political and other cultural organisations) as interesting material for the museum but irrelevant to his time, for now they were to be educated into the 'culture' of the Gospel.[222]

These beliefs were not uninteresting but they were not valued by Europeans who considered that these beliefs had to be abandoned by Indigenous to leave room for Christianity. The settlers could not or did not want to recognize the importance and the relevance of these traditions which lost their meaning in the context of colonisation, dispossession and capitalism.

> The Aborigines' own perception that they were part of the creation of the land during the dreamtime was neither understood nor seen of relevance in a society whose economy and religion assumed the validity of migration conquest and colonisation.[223]

Maunsell understood Maori cosmology but he discounted its value. He wrote:

> As yet they make but little progress in either regarding or attacking in the abstract, and their objections are almost too silly to be noticed. Their metaphysics and philosophy are for the most part confined to ancient legend, to dreams or to immediate divine agencies. (Maunsell to C.M.S., 8 June 1841).[224]

The traditional beliefs of Maoris and Aboriginals had to be disregarded so that Christianity could be pursued.

3.1.3. Comparison between Indigenous' spiritual beliefs and Christianity

a) An assumed superiority of Christianity and by extension of white settlers

It was generally recognised in the 19th century that the Europeans were a superior race than the Aboriginals and the Maoris, who were represented as we have seen as lacking moral sense and civilisation. They were the "children of nature", a sort of primitive race with primitive religious beliefs, what Rousseau called the "noble savage." Rousseau argued that Indigenous peoples were unsullied by the vices of modern societies. But in the 19th, as Welch argues, the noble savage was not to be admired but rather to be civilised and saved. Education and in

[222] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", 1992, p. 69.
[223] Kociumbas, Jan. *Volume 2, 1770–1860: Possessions, The Oxford History of Australia*, 1992, p. 275.
[224] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p. 68.

particular literacy were to be the tools for this process and it was mainly directed towards children. This supposed superiority of the Europeans contributed to a rise of racism in the colonies and one of the things that legitimated this racism was Christianity.

> The arrogant assumption of the (material and) spiritual superiority of white British Christian civilisation allowed little respect for or knowledge of Aboriginal culture to develop: "Mission organisation stressed the abomination of savage society and spared no thought for investigating its past or recording its present."[225]

The whole theory of the hierarchy of races and the traditional opposition between "savage" and "civilised" clashed with the idea of one race created by one God, and this paradox was questioned by the Select Committee of 1837.

> Forgetful of Him " who hath made of *one blood* all nations that dwell upon the earth," *we have too long been accustomed to look upon the coloured races as possessing a nature far inferior to our own* (…) At once, then, let us awake to *our duty*, and relying on the blessing from on high, let every energy be exerted, and every nerve be strained, to hasten the arrival of that period, when the voice of the oppressor, and the cry of the oppressed, shall no more be heard on our earth: *when men shall dwell together as brethren — children of one common Father — heirs of the same glorious immortality*.[226]

Indigenous peoples were to be made the equals of Europeans thanks to education, civilisation and Christianity. The highest mission of the settlers according to the committee was the saving of indigenous peoples' souls in the name of the God. This optimistic view of men dwelling together as brethren can be interpreted as a religious reformulation of the "amalgamation" theory of Grey.

b) Parallels drawn between Indigenous beliefs and Christian faith

Even if Maoris and Aboriginals beliefs were very different form Christianity, the settlers tried to draw similarities between them to prove that the Indigenous were not irremediable and that these common points could constitute a starting point for the missionaries for the inculcation of Christianity in their souls. It is possible that settlers drawing these common points saw what

[225] Welch A. R. "Aboriginal education as Internal Colonialism", p. 205. Citing Mulvaney, D.J. (1967) *The Australian aborigines 1606-1929: opinion and fieldwork*.
[226] *Report of the Select Committee*, pp. 7-11.

they wanted to see in the spiritual beliefs of indigenous. Thomson, in his chapter on Maori beliefs perceived a common point in a Maori ceremony called "Iriiri" practised a few weeks after the birth of a child and the rite of Baptism in the Christian religion.[227] This ceremony consisted in the naming of the child by a priest and of the "blessing" of this child with water from tree-branches or by immersing it in the river. This ceremony resembled the rite of Baptism with the presence of the priest and what could be considered "holy water".

> Between the two creeds [Maori religion and Christianity] there were also some remote resemblances : the New Zealanders believed in many gods, Christianity had one; the missionaries preached of heaven and hell, the New Zealand creed contained something similar; Christianity inculcated that men had souls which survived bodily dissolution, and the New Zealanders believed that the spirits of their dead lived after them, and frequently revisited the earth ; the missionaries spoke of baptism, and the natives related a peculiar custom they had in naming children.[228]

The fact that these common points were drawn between Maoris' beliefs and Christians' but not between Aboriginals' and Christians' underlined the prevailing idea that Maoris were closer from the Europeans in the hierarchy of races than the Aboriginals. This prejudice was used to explain why missions were more successful in New Zealand than in Australia. As we will see, the two colonies presented different difficulties in their reception of Christianity.

3.2. The "white man's burden"[229]: a duty to carry civilisation and Christianisation to the colonies and the Indigenous peoples

There is an inherent conflict between the ideal of equality, and the domination or superiority of Europeans on Indigenous peoples. Colonial actors "combined goodwill and

[227] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized* pp. 118-120.
[228] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized* p. 317.
[229] It may seem anachronistic to use this poem from Kipling about American imperialism at the end of the 19th century to talk about the British empire around the 1840s. But this poem is the embodiment of the justification for the spread of the British empire: there was a moral obligation for white settlers to civilise and Christianise the Indigenous peoples. Moreover, we see on the cartoon of the same year by Victor Gillam that the United States are following the path opened by Great Britain years before. The British colonial empire is taken as an example of Christian imperialism. See table of illustration for Victor Gillam's illustration of the poem.

sympathy for the dispossessed with racist beliefs." [230] Missionaries, influenced by such prevailing views (scientific racism, i.e., the justification of racism by the theories of Darwin, and the fact that if the aboriginals were to disappear it was justified by the survival of the fittest) and by the common association in the Christian tradition of the colour black with evil, were not immune to racism either.[231] Running alongside aggressive, violent and capitalist colonial expansion which paired the dispossession of indigenous peoples of the early nineteenth century was an evangelical Protestant humanitarianism that wanted to change and Christianise the world. [232] The goal of missionaries was the eradication of 'savage' Indigenous cultures for the sake of saving souls for Christ. Since children were more malleable, the proselytising efforts were directed towards them. Following the idea that Europeans were superior to Aboriginals and Maoris, the settlers considered it was their duty to civilise and Christianise the heathens, for their own sake. It is the "white man's burden", as Kipling expressed it at the end of the 19th century, to help the indigenous peoples raise from superstition, barbarism, vice, ignorance to civilisation. [233]

3.2.1. The duty to save souls by bringing heathens into the right faith

What the "right faith", "the true religion" was is questionable and changed according to the denomination of the settlers who wrote the accounts of Australia and New Zealand, but the common point of their narratives is that they recognised the divine mission of saving the souls of the indigenous people.

a) The different "faiths" present in Australia and New Zealand

Same as we cannot talk of a single religion among the Maoris and the Aboriginals, we cannot talk of a single group of missionaries. The Anglican, Wesleyan and Catholic churches had many ramifications and various groups represented them in the colonies. These groups were part of missionary societies like the London Missionary Society (LMS) or the Church Missionary society (CMS), whose role was to allocate funds to the missions and make sure they functioned correctly.

According to Felicity Jensz,

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[230] Stoler, Anne Laura cited in Barry, Amanda "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia" p. 2.

[231] Welch A. R. "Aboriginal education as Internal Colonialism", p. 203

[232] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 2.

[233] All these words are represented on the cartoon illustrating the White Man's burden.

> There were not only confessional differences between Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations, but also denominational differences between Protestant societies, as well as differences between Catholic groups, all of which influenced how schooling was both presented and received. Many missionaries working in the English-speaking world were not British, rather continental European Protestants or Catholics. [234]

There were three main denominations represented in Australia and New Zealand: The Church of England, operating through the powerful and influential Church Missionary Society; the Wesleyans; and the Roman Catholics.[235] It seems that Australia also received Baptist missionaries and New Zealand did not. [236] There sometimes were tensions between the groups. These tensions are described by Thomson with the story of a traveller:

> Bad feeling [was] occasionally displayed between the converts to the English, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic churches. “To what church do you belong?" The traveller, seeing at once that his supper and night’s lodging entirely depended upon his answer, after some hesitation replied, "To the true church" which of course satisfied both parties, and the gate was instantly opened, and a feast prepared for himself and followers. (…) Heke, the leader of the insurrection at the Bay of Islands, wrote to Queen Victoria that his countrymen were perplexed with the number of religious creeds; that when the missionaries first came, they were told the Church of England was the only true church, but there were now three true churches.” [237]

Even if there were differences between the missionary groups, they all came with the same aim: Christianising the “savages.” The saving of Indigenous’ souls and particularly the soul of children was a divine mission. The fact that they regarded the Indigenous as their inferiors, as children denoted a sense of paternalism which was perceptible in the Report of the Select committee and in the Church Missionary Society reports. Even if they were considered as savages, the Maoris and Aboriginals were not considered irremediable. In the notes of the CMS, a letter from the

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[234] Jensz, Felicity. “Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I: Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions”, p. 295.

[235] The aim of this essay is not to point to the confessional differences between missionary groups but how the schooling they offered children was influenced by their faith. One of the main differences between these groups was the importance of the Scriptures and their interpretation of the Bible.

[236] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 61. “A worthy effort was made by the Baptist body in Melbourne, in 1845, to gather some native children together.”

[237] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized* , pp. 322-324.

Anglican Bishop of Australia visiting New Zealand, expressed this sense of paternalism. The conversion of Maoris was a success in the civilising mission.

> Before the Bishop left New Zealand, he thus expressed his paternal regard toward those who, in that distant land, had been gathered into the Fold of Christ: —
>
> To the Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, who are baptized into the Fellowship of Christ's Church.
>
> DEARLY-BELOVED IN THE LORD
>
> *Though you are sprung from a different family, and your forefathers long continued strangers to us and we to them, it affords me great satisfaction to call you Brethren, because you have entered into the fellowship of the same Gospel with ourselves. Ye are all the Children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.*[238]

Missionaries and Maoris were the "children of God." The fact that Maoris embraced the Anglican religion created a spiritual filial link between settlers and Indigenous. Missionaries were sent in the colonies to guid the indigenous peoples in the path of Christianity. In the saving of children's souls and the policies that encouraged this saving we can see a combined influence of governments and of missionary society. The Select Committee, which defined the aspects of a humanitarian colonisation was influenced by reports of missionaries and by the lobbying of the Church Missionary Society and Buxton who chaired the committee was a member of the Anglican Church. [239] In each colony, missionaries lived alongside aboriginal peoples, carrying the dual message of civilisation and of salvation through the Gospel.[240]

b) Civilisation and Christianisation as a compensation for their sufferings

According to Jensz, missionaries often saw themselves as a moral, stabilizing force for Indigenous peoples who had been victims of the social transformations that colonialism brought with it.[241] To compensate for the sufferings indigenous peoples endured because of colonisation (dispossession, disappearance of entire tribes because of disease brought from the Old Continent or because of massacres etc.), the Select Committee proposed to bring them Christianity and civilisation. As Marguerita Stephens put it,

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[238] CMS. *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, at Kishnaghur, and in New Zealand*, p. 125.
[239] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, New Zealand,* p. 199.
[240] *Ibid*.
[241] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", p. 306.

> evangelical humanitarians asserted a moral obligation to protect, civilise and Christianise the 'natives' of the empire. As the heads of the principal British mission societies argued before Buxton's committee in June 1836, the transmission of Christian knowledge and salvation was just compensation for the unstoppable occupation of native lands. [242]

More than a right, it was a duty to spread to word of God. In the Australian case, this belief coincided with both the rise of popular education in Britain, and one of the biggest revivals in Christian history in the form of evangelical Protestantism.[243] Aboriginals, and Maoris to a lesser extent, were considered an "abject, wretched race entirely destitute of the means of grace and Salvation." [244] To carry this Christianising mission, the missionaries directed their efforts towards children, even if their parents could also be influenced by their preaching. The aim of this religious education was obviously the saving of children's souls but also a form of uniformization of the society in the colonies. Once civilised and Christianised, children would be assimilated into British society among British settlers, with whom they would share common values and religion. Children were to be Europeanized in the missionary schools.

3.2.2. "The missionary quest" to save children from their heathen ways through schooling [245]

> the teaching of catechization, and nothing but catechization, will give thought and sound knowledge to the New Zealand scholar.[246]

Through schooling, missionaries themselves hoped to enact a transformative process from 'heathen' and 'uncivilized' native to 'civilized' and Christian convert.[247] As we have seen, the early attempts in the education of children were pursued by missionaries, at the beginning without the help of governments. Children were taught, English (sometimes via their own language) and

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[242] Stephens, Marguerita. 'Infanticide at Port Phillip: Protector William Thomas and the Witnessing of Things Unseen', p. 125.
[243] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", pp. 3-4.
[244] O'Brien, Anne. 'Creating the Aboriginal Pauper: Missionary Ideas in Early 19th Century Australia', p. 20, citing Robert Cartwright, an Anglican clergyman.
[245] Prochner, Larry. "'The blessings of civilisation': nineteenth-century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s", p. 83.
[246] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p. 71.
[247] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", p. 306.

manual skills. But these secular knowledges were paired with, as Welch argues in the case of Australia,

> an insistent and elaborate hidden curriculum, comprising elements of Christianity and capitalism, [which] formed a major part of educational initiatives for Aborigines. Many early educational efforts were by missionaries, and a conventional curriculum embraced far more than reading, writing and counting, much of which was often based on the Bible anyway. Hymn-singing, prayer recital, and the learning of catechism were common features of the curriculum, and white attitudes towards cleanliness, time and work were also instilled.[248]

The process of civilisation and of Christianisation had to start at an early age to be successful. Positive missionary reports had demonstrated that if 'heathen' children were instructed in Western missionary education from a young age, they could be raised as Christians and could proficiently learn Western forms of knowledge.[249] According to Prochner, the Church was initially sceptical that infant schools could be a tool for Christianisation, but it changed when in England the Infant School Society stated that "infant schools should give children of the poor principles of virtue." This observation was then applied in the colonies through the Infant School Society in 1836, which intended to provide Indigenous children instruction based on Christian principles.[250] The intention of infant school advocates was to train young children in good habits, Christian values and morals – something deemed unlikely in their homes and which thus justified the removal of children from their families. Missionary schools, following this principle of Christianisation and adapting it with their personal faith spread across the colonies. The 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines saw Christian missions as particularly suited to the task of 'civilizing' Aboriginals. They received support from their home churches and raised funds through farming and commercial enterprises in an attempt to become economically self-sufficient communities (as shown with the example of Maunsell in the previous part). Government aid to missions consisted principally of the use of the land and subsidies for education. [251] One of the common points of the different mission schools across Australia and New Zealand was that the curriculum, in its secular and non-secular aspects was always based on the reading of the Bible.

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[248] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 209.
[249] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", p. 307.
[250] Prochner, Larry. 'The blessings of civilization': nineteenth-century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s" p. 86.
[251] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, p. 35-6

a) The reading of the Bible

King George III declared in 1805 that 'It is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible'.[252] The Bible was a book that missionaries could easily obtain. Children learned to read by reading the Bible and almost unconsciously they received a religious education through literacy. In New Zealand, reading the Bible and catechism, was of paramount importance.[253] It was argued that the Bible should be translated into indigenous languages because as Bonwick said it: "a man is more moved by being addressed about his soul in his own tongue."[254] The Bible was translated in Maori by Maunsell but it was more complicated in Australia because of the variety of dialects. In opposition with New Zealand, English was mainly used in Australia in the teaching of Aboriginal children. The religious education Maori received in their own language (before 1871) was presented as a success. The knowledge children acquired impressed their parents who then, according to Thomson, attended school too.

> The schools spread the Gospel in this way. New Zealanders were surprised to find that children educated at the mission schools acquired the art of writing words which similarly educated children could comprehend; and to possess this to them necromantic power, men and women crowded to school, where *Christianity was unfolded to their minds by learning to read from religious books*. (italics added) [255]

This enthusiasm of Maoris for literacy is mentioned by Andrew Armitage: "religious instruction and reading the Bible opened the way to literacy as in New Zealand, where there was a "rapid emergence of a great Maori thirst for reading and writing skills" in the 1830s."[256] However, the teaching in English in Australia did not appear as an obstacle. Concerning Tuckfield's Wesleyan mission at Buntingdale, Bonwick said that in 1843 "a class of boys who are learning to read in English can answer with readiness more than half the questions in the 'Conference Catechism (…) In a higher degree their labours seemed blessed, when they were able to write, "six or seven might faithfully be reported as being converted."[257] The reading of the Bible had a more important aim that the teaching of English language. As F. Jensz argues, for evangelical Protestants the

[252] Prochner, Larry. The Blessings of civilization: nineteenth - century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings - India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s-1840s
[253] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation." P. 68.
[254] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 62.
[255] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized,* p. 315.
[256] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, p. 100.
[257] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 61.

reading of the Bible was essential to open the Word of God to indigenous and schooling was the means to teach them to read the Bible to turn them into good Christians in the near future. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century missionaries believed that schooling non-Europeans in Western, Christian knowledge would 'raise' the so-called 'heathen' and bring him or her into the folds of 'civilization'. [258]

b) Different difficulties to be overcome

It would seem that Maoris and Aboriginals did not react the same way to the spread of Christianity and to the schooling of their children. In the settlers' accounts studied in this paper, it seems that Maoris appeared more enthusiastic and receptive to education. Bonwick, presenting the success of civilising missions in New Zealand, wondered why was the educational process in Australia a failure.

> Why then, it was said, should not the Australians be gathered into the same fold [as the Maoris]? (…) The history of our missions has been one of failure. It was soon found that it was somewhat different to go among a people already corrupted by contact with bad Europeans, who had no settled home, and who had no religious conceptions, to that of labour among men in their own independent dominions, who had stationary villages, and who held some religious faith.[259]

It seemed easier to spread the Gospel among the New Zealanders because they had not been corrupted by white settlers, as the Aboriginals had been with the convicts. The Maoris were also established in stationary villages whereas the Aboriginals were nomadic. William Thomas for example had to follow them to teach the children and it was difficult for settlers and missionaries to provide a continuous education when the tribes were moving.[260] Lastly, Bonwick wrongly considered that it was easier in New Zealand because they had "some religious faith" and the Aboriginals "had no religious conceptions."

Another difference between the Maoris and Aboriginals was that the Maoris, as we have seen, seemed more willing, enthusiastic in receiving religious and secular instruction. Bonwick,

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[258] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", p. 307.
[259] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 59.
[260] This reason is put forward by Bonwick to explain the failure the Baptist missionary school: "The mission lasted but a few years, it was found impracticable to retain the children, because of the parents wishing them to follow them", *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 61.

quoting Bishop Short of Adelaide, presented the difficulties encountered by missionaries in Australia:

> If the schools were established in the bush, then there was the counteracting influence of the elder natives, the contamination of native customs and rites. No sooner was the grown-up girl or boy in some measure trained, instructed and impressed with the truth of religion, than the former was claimed as the affianced wife of some elder kinsman; and the latter was summoned to go through the initiatory rites. (…) The disinclination of parents to allow their children to leave them is thus pathetically set forth by one of the missionaries : — "In whatsoever direction I go, the parents conceal the children, as soon as they hear that a missionary approaches their camp ; and when I come upon them by surprise, I have the grievance to observe these little ones running into the bushes, or into the bed of the river with the utmost rapidity."[261]

The religious beliefs and rites of the Aboriginals had a negative influence on children and what is insinuated here is the necessary removal of the children from their families that we have mentioned in the previous part. The saving of children's souls would have to be enforced to be effective in Australia. Children would need to be taken far away from their parents and tribes to prevent their return to their "barbarous" beliefs and customs. School was more than the teaching of secular knowledge and more than the reading of the Bible and the spread of Christianity, either by Anglican missionaries or Wesleyans or Roman Catholics. Schooling was also a way to spread European values and way of living, in a word Christianisation paired the process of civilisation.

3.2.3. The instillation of British values and civilisation in children's minds

A part of the "hidden curriculum" Welch mentioned consisted in the promotion of European Christian values. Each missionary group stressed the values they considered necessary to the elaboration of the assimilated generation of Maoris and Aboriginals. Larry Prochner argued that the education Wesleyans provided

> promoted stability, subordination and industry, a view espoused by the early missionaries to each of the case study colonies. Their perceptions shaped the fundamentals of mission schooling where, first, children would ideally be schooled away from the influences of their families; second, the Bible would be

[261] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 60.

> the path to literacy; and third, clothing and behaviour would be shaped towards eliciting a "civilised" demeanour of humility and ordered industry.[262]

The importance of the formation of "industrious" generation can be seen in the importance given to the teaching of manual skills, which can also be linked to the formation of capitalist colonies. Prochner made these comments on the infant schools in New Zealand, but according to Welch, the same spread of European values can be observed in the missionary schools in Australia:

> Christianity often involved an introduction into such institutions and values as diligence, punctiliousness, private property, economic individualism, a subordinate female role, and other *accoutrements of civilisation*.[263]

One of the aims of children's education by missionaries was the formation of a new workforce. Children were trained to become industrial, agricultural or domestic workers. It was necessary to instil in them the values of self-reliance, diligence, obedience and most importantly the value of hard work. The influence of the protestant work ethic is perceptible in the curriculum of Anglican and Wesleyan missionary schools, less in the Catholic curriculum. In New Zealand with Maunsell and in Australia with Tuckfield, children learnt to be good Christian and at the same time good workers by the instillation of Christian capitalist values. As Russell Bishop argues, "the Christian spirit of self-reliance through self-denial, discipline and hard work was promoted by Maunsell by his own example, and he expected no less from his scholars." [264] The lack of financing of the schools and their lack of everyday life supplies, was turned by missionaries into the instillation of the value of frugality, when it could have been considered as child abuse and child labour. The heavily gendered tasks which separated girls from boys also instilled in children's mind the idea of a subordinate female role. Activities like needlework were said to "prepare native women to be good Christian wives for their native Christian husbands." [265] In a word, children were introduced to the "white man's morality". [266] Indigenous peoples were considered idle because of their way of life consisting in relying on what nature offered them and their disdain for agricultural work, but this could be changed according to the missionaries, by the education of their children. Consequently, the saving of children's souls was not only their bringing into

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[262] Prochner, et al. "'The Blessings of civilisation': nineteenth - century missionary infant schools for young native children in three colonial settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s", p. 83.
[263] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 207.
[264] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p.73.
[265] Jensz, Felicity. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th- Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender", p. 308
[266] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", pp. 206-7.

Christianity, but it was also a way of promoting western values, which could be expressed in a more "material" way – in opposition or in complement with the spiritual elevation children's Christianisation represented – by their encouragement in settling and engaging in industrious work. This white man's morality also led settlers and missionaries to think that they were doing the right thing in saving the children's souls by separating them from their families. As Amanda Barry argues, "Protestants' moral compass led them to accept colonisation, as it provided opportunities for conversion." [267] It was a divine right and duty to educate children and elevate them from a stage of barbarism to civilisation.

3.3. The consequences of the saving of children's souls

3.3.1. How to evaluate the success of Christianisation in Australia and New Zealand?

It is complicated to evaluate the impact of religious education on children. How do you evaluate the success or the failure of the saving of children's souls? Faith, especially in the Methodist branch of Christianity in something interior, personal, which does not necessarily need to be expressed by actions or good works. How then, can we see the influence of the saving of children's souls for the Christ? If the literal saving of children by the saving of their life from the threat of infanticide or the saving of their mind can be evaluated by removal policies, establishment of schools and residential schools, the study of the curricula and legal texts, the saving of their souls had an intangible dimension because it was an inherent part of each of the other savings. The notes of the Church Missionary in New Zealand in 1840 provides precise information on the number of converts. Christianisation is considered to have arrived in two waves in New Zealand. The first began in 1814 with Marsden and the second in the 1830 (this one is generally considered more successful).[268] Therefore, the notes of the CMS give us an idea of the influence of the second wave, approximately ten years after its beginning.

> The number of adults admitted to the rite of Baptism, since the formation of the Mission, has been 553; of infants, 303; making a total of 838. The attendants on

[267] Barry, Amanda. "'Equal to Children of European Origin' Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia", p. 12.

[268] Thomson, A. S. *The story of New Zealand: past and present : savage and civilized*, p. 313. "When Christianity did take root it grew rapidly, and soon after 1830 the scattered seed began to sprout. Churches were filled after this date by attentive audiences, who listened with respect; schools were filled with children and adults, many of whom taught each other to read and write ; the Sabbath was observed as a day of rest, a number of persons were baptized, a few were permitted to partake of the holy sacrament, and clergymen proclaimed over the dead who professed to die in the Lord, those sublime words which promise to faith in this world a glorious heavenly triumph in that which is to come."

> Public Worship are about 4070; the Communicants, being the average number of those only who attend, 213. Schools about 50, and Scholars 1600. [269]

These numbers seem low considering that the Maori population was estimated to 80,000 souls.[270] But these numbers were only representative of a single mission in a confined area and do not include the number of converts of the Methodists or the Catholics. Thomson also gives an idea of the spread of Christianity in New Zealand by presenting the percentage of Maori converts in each church:

> It is the custom in the present day to reckon all the New Zealanders as converts to Christianity. This is a mistake. According to a census made in 1850 of the natives in the neighbourhood of Cook's Strait, by Mr. Tacy Kemp*, out of every hundred —
>
> 48 belonged to the English church.
> 13 to the Wesleyan church.
> 3 to the Roman Catholic church.
> 36 to No church.[271]

The Anglican church seem largely dominant. However, the spread of Christianity and civilisation cannot be limited to the number of converts. We can imagine, as show the daily attendance to public worship that the success of the Christianising mission cannot be measured only by the number of converts, by the number of indigenous who received the sacrament of Baptism. As Armitage argues in his comparative study of Australia, New Zealand and Canada,

> most Aboriginals, First Nations peoples, and Maori became at least nominal Christians early on in the process of assimilation. In Australia, many of the Aboriginal settlements were pioneered by missionaries who also served as local agents of the state protectors.[272]

All the indigenous who were influenced by missionary education were not converts. Perhaps, the results of the spread of Christianity and civilisation can also be seen in the number of children receiving a religious education.

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[269] CMS, *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, at Kishnaghur, and in New Zealand*, p. 149.
[270] Pool, Ian Te iwi Māori: a New Zealand population, past, present and projected. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991.
[271] Thomson, A. S. *The Story of New Zealand: past and present; savage and civilized*, p. 327.
[272] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, p. 199.

Missionary schools provided education for all Aboriginal and Maori children, from infant schools to superior schools. Marsden, who started the first wave of missionaries in New Zealand for example built the Australian Rangihoua in 1819 as a seminary for high-ranking young Maori. According to some settlers, the schools in some areas were even overwhelmed by the number of people attending the schools.

> Mr. Puckey, in a Letter dated March 4, 1839, thus describes the progress of the Kaitaia Station:
> "Our school for men and boys is pretty well attended, generally; but on Monday Morning there are so many, that it keeps the person who has charge of it in continual close employment; and the benefit of education is to be seen at all the places of those who have been instructed. We have school every morning for the men and boys. In the forenoon the Infant School begins, and the Girls' School after dinner."[273]

On the Australian case, Tuckfield's efforts were also punctually successful. Some of the children under his care were reported converted to Christianity: "six or seven might faithfully be reported as being converted."[274] It is interesting to see that more information is to be found on the "success" of the civilising and Christianising missions in New Zealand, even if as we have seen, most of the early schools, as in Australia, were closed by the 1860s.

3.3.2. The positive influence of Christianity perceived by settlers and missionaries

a) The abandon of barbarous practices

The spread of Christianity among indigenous peoples was considered successful by settlers who attributed the end of barbarous practices to the efforts of missionaries. We have seen in the first part that Christianity was said to have put an end to infanticide and cannibalism.

> Infanticide is frequent amongst the New Zealanders; though the introduction of Christianity by the missionaries, and the gradually increasing intercourse they have with Europeans, have done much towards abolishing this shocking custom.[275]

The Maoris who were said to practice slavery, also appeared to have abandoned this practice as a consequence of their adoption of Christianity. Angas was perhaps one of the more optimistic

[273] CMS. *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, at Kishnaghur, and in New Zealand*, p. 131.
[274] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria,* p. 61.
[275] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. pp. 312-3.

concerning the changes of the Maoris, whom he represented at the beginning of his book as barbarians. The Maoris, according to Angas, stopped practicing slavery after they embraced Christianity: "many of the former slaves, and their children, are returning to occupy the land of their forefathers, having been liberated from their bondage through the combined influence of Christianity and civilization. [276] At the end of his account, he is positive that

> Their change from barbarism to Christianity has been rapid; and it has also been complete and will prove permanent. From a people addicted to cannibalism, and giving loose to the worst and wildest passions, they have, in a period of but a few years, become an intelligent and superior race, worthy of holding a high position in the scale of the human family, and frequently, by their noble and consistent conduct, putting to blush the more educated and advanced Europeans. [277]

The education of children and their introduction to Christianity contributed to the unquestionable (according to Angas) rise of Maoris from barbarism to civilisation. In the case of New Zealand, the Christianising and civilising missions were presented as a complete success. But in the case of Aboriginals, who were generally considered inferior to the Maoris, the civilising and Christianising mission appeared as a failure. The conversion of children was often presented as an exception. Their supposed inferior status was used to justify this failure in comparison with the more advanced Maoris. The strategy of missionaries to donate goods to the Aboriginals to convince them to embrace Christianity was supposed to make them associate the Christian faith with generosity and comfort.

> Though the natives may be so far inaccessible to dogmatic teaching upon the mysteries of our faith, they can understand the comforting belief in a future of happiness. … The Christianity of the affections has charms for even opossum-clad Australians. [278]

Bonwick considered that, even if the Aboriginals remained deaf to Christian preaching, the missionaries were at least successful in impressing in them the "comforting belief in a future of happiness."

b) Instillation of British values

[276] Angas, G. F. *Savage Life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand* vol. 2, p. 88.
[277] *Ibid*. p. 338.
[278] Bonwick, James. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*, p. 64.

Christian schooling in New Zealand was considered a complete success, even if the schools we have studied were not properly managed and that they all ended up closed. As Armitage argues, the church secondary schools in New Zealand contributed to the formation of a new Christian Maori leadership. The leadership of the young Maori Party was drawn from the church-organised secondary schools. There was no comparable achievement in Australia.[279] The civilising mission through schooling was also successful according to the CMS.

> We mean, that those in the precincts of our labours are not what they once were: they lay claim to different views and feelings from what they once had: there is something like compassion for suffering humanity, with some desire that their children should be better instructed and informed.[280]

A great change from the Maoris from "savage" to "civilised" is always stated in our different accounts. Grey, who travelled in and administrated New Zealand and South Australia as Governor, mentioned in his preface of *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as furnished by their priests and chiefs*, the positive influence of Christianity on "native races", which could include any Indigenous people:

> It must further be borne in mind, that the native races, who believed in these traditions or superstitions, are in no way deficient in intellect, and in no respect incapable of receiving the truths of Christianity ; on the contrary, they readily embrace its doctrines and submit to its rules ; in our schools they stand a fair comparison with Europeans, and, when instructed in Christian truths, blush at their own former ignorance and superstitions, and look back with shame and loathing upon their previous state of wickedness and credulity.[281]

The spiritual beliefs of Aboriginals and Maoris were something that they were ashamed of after their conversion. According to Grey, Indigenous were finally able to contemplate their progress towards civilisation and stand as equals with the Europeans, a proof of the success of the religious instruction children received in schools.

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[279] Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, p. 204.
[280] CMS. *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, at Kishnaghur, and in New Zealand*, p. 148.
[281] Grey, George. *Polynesian mythology and ancient traditional history of the New Zealand race, as furnished by their priests and chiefs*, London: John Murray, 1855, p. XIII.

3.3.3. The adaptation of Indigenous people to the spread of Christianity

a) Destruction of spiritual beliefs of Indigenous

It is unquestionable that the removal of children and their introduction to Christianity have caused unmeasurable destructions of traditional Maori and Aboriginal beliefs. Their "barbarous" religious practices and conceptions had to be erased so that they could embrace the "right faith", Christianity. The destruction of their original spiritual beliefs was a necessary step on the path of civilisation.

> Christianising, too, is still an important part of educational efforts, despite the long-standing recognition of the damage that is done to Aboriginal cultures in its name: "Success in converting the children to Christianity would undoubtedly spell disaster for the Aboriginal Law, which is based on a radically different view of life" [282] And what meaning was attached to Christian mythology by Aboriginal youth? ... what strange things were thus revealed to youngsters reared in the world of the Dreaming. They had memorised the forms of words with intelligence and learned to identify the place in a book whose content could have little interest or meaning within the indigenous frame of reference.[283]

By bringing children into Christianity, Aboriginal children had to renounce their interpretation and understanding of the world. Their teaching in the Christian faith did more than change their perception, it erased their mythology, their idea of the creation of the land to impress on them a new mythology, which was not understandable to them because situated in a completely different frame of references. The removal of children was detrimental to the survival of Aboriginal and Maori customs. The children could no longer receive the education of their parents and of their tribes. The settlers and the missionaries who enforced their removal broke the link of transmission of ancestral beliefs and practices.

b) Appropriation of Christian religion by Indigenous and influence of their traditional beliefs on settlers: a two-way process

In the case of New Zealand, it is argued that Maoris adapted and modified Christianity to their own needs. As Bishop argues, they took from Christian teaching the features useful to them.

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[282] Welch, A. R. "Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism", p. 210. Citing Tonkinson, R. *The Jigalong Mob,* 1974, p. 109.

[283] *Ibid*. p. 210. Citing Rowley, C.D. *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, 1972, p. 2.

> the Maori saw this education system as empowering for it enabled them to take from the European world technical elements and non-material attitudes and beliefs that enhanced their own life-styles, while they were able to maintain their own basic social divisions of whanau, hapu and iwi.[284] Ward concluded that the Maori response to Western contact was highly intellectual, flexible and progressive, and also highly selective, aiming largely to draw upon the strengths of the West itself, and to enable them to enjoy its material and cultural riches co-equally with the Westerners.[285]

This mingling of their beliefs with the new religion brought to them was perceived by missionaries like Maunsell who had little respect for traditional Maori beliefs and who insisted on seeing them as agents of the spread of Christianity. Morrell, quoted in Bishop's article said that Maunsell was not concerned that Maori people were not learning the Christian message, he was concerned that

> his aim to create a Christian community was being subverted by Maori combining influences of the old ways with the new. He reported that 'on the whole, an attentive examination presents a strange motley of old habits and opinions, seeking to mould and rule the new principle' [286]

In other words, Maunsell was not worried that not enough children were daily being baptized into the church, the number of converts was high, the problem was that "the means for feeding these lambs of Christ were most inadequate." He had to keep the number of candidates for Baptism manageable to allow the missionaries to select the most suitable. He realised that he was losing control of the Christianising process so he decided to establish the boarding school we have previously mentioned. The reasons why Maori people embraced the gospel concerned Maunsell.[287] Maunsell was concerned that Maori were taking from the new teachings what they wanted, rather than what he wanted them to learn. According to Bishop, the closing of the mission can be attributed to the fact that Maori were too competent and they would have subverted Maunsell's agenda with that of their own. The mingling of the old with the new found its expression in the development of the Maori church. Maunsell, about this church said:

> The spirit of worldly mindedness, self-will and pride for a while restrained by the spirit of the gospel seems again in too many places to be rising its head and

[284] Whanau means family, hapu tribe and iwi people.
[285] Bishop, Russell. "The Waikato Mission Schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and Co-Operation", p. 68.
[286] *Ibid.*
[287] *Ibid*. p. 69.

> power. Drunkenness has prevailed in some places and Christianity has very extensively assumed the form of a cold formalism (Maunsell to C.M.S., 20 May 1863).[288]

Thomson, who was adamant on the success of the Christianising process of Maori held however an objection on this success. He talked about

> a rude mixture of paganism and the cross, an adoption strengthened by superstition more than a conversion. Missionaries will deny this: but Christian natives, suffering under sickness, frequently appeal to their old gods for health; and healthy Christians dread violating the tapu, lest the gods who watch over that code should punish them with sickness. When spoken to on the subject, they disclaim any belief in heathen deities, but some of their actions show that a portion of the old leaven still remains.[289]

The prolonged contact of missionaries who tried to Christianise the Indigenous was not without consequence for them. The theory of amalgamation of Grey was a two-way process: Maoris influenced the missionaries and missionaries influenced them. The beliefs of the Maoris, as the "tapu", which could be translated like "thing sacred" were according to Thomson held by some setters and missionaries. No such exchanges were mentioned in journals in Australia.

Conclusion 3:

The spread of Christianity paired the process of civilisation and children were the main focus of missionaries because they were considered more malleable. They were civilised and Christianised by the missionaries who ran the schools children attended. The necessity to protect children from their parents and the threat of infanticide led to the removal policy and this policy permitted the inculcation of both British civilisation and values and the inculcation of the Christian religion. The two processes of civilisation and Christianisation were linked and were put into practice in the missionary schools. It was considered a humanitarian and Christian mission to teach, civilise and Christianise the children. It was seen as a form of compensation for the wrongs Aboriginals and Maoris were sufferings during the colonising process. The spread of Christianity was destructive for Maori and Aboriginal populations because their traditional beliefs were deemed incompatible with Christianity and needed to be erased and disregarded so that the

[288] *Ibid*. pp. 73-4.
[289] Thomson, A. S. *The Story of New Zealand: past and present: savage and civilized,* p. 318.

Christianising mission could be pursued. The children were kept separated from their parents so that they would not be influenced by the traditional beliefs of their tribes.

Conclusion

Children, as we have seen, occupied a particular place in the colonial strategies in the 19th century British Empire. They were the heirs of the Aboriginal and Maori cultures, the repositories of ancestral knowledge and spiritual beliefs. But to carry civilisation and Christianisation to the colonies, the settlers considered that these cultures were an obstacle to this divine mission. The period between the early 1840s and the end of the 1860s was marked by the application in Australia and New Zealand of educational policies influenced by racial prejudices such as the "ineducability of the natives". Such prejudices counteracted the positive reports of missionaries whose mission was to provide secular and religious education to Indigenous children.

The saving of children was multifaceted: some settlers really saw in it a divine mission and thought that they were doing the right thing by protecting children from their families but also from the influence of "evil" settlers by sending them away in residential schools, and by offering them a "chance" to be part of the industrial British society of the colonies. But this "saving" of children was also a political question: the assimilation of indigenous peoples into British society. This saving of children was heavily instrumentalised, children being represented as victims so that they could be taken away from their families. The settlers contributed to this instrumentalization in their accounts by representing Indigenous peoples as savages in need of Christian salvation and civilisation. The parents were represented as unable to teach their children (sometimes implicitly, as with Polack who first appeared to be praising Maori education) and instilling in them superstitions and barbarous religious beliefs.

However, if the two colonies studied follow this same pattern, differences immerged because of the racial prejudices that the settlers contributed to spread. Aboriginals were considered inferior to Maoris, and this prejudice led to different policies in the colonies. The Maoris were part of the educational process with the implication of "Native teachers", but the Aboriginals had no such roles. The saving of children was justified by a will to protect and save the Aboriginal and Maori children and this "noble cause" justified culturally, physically and spiritually destructive policies, like the removal of children. The removal policy, which proved destructive in both countries, was stricter in Australia. In opposition to the Aboriginals, Maoris were encouraged to return to their tribes to be representatives of the positive influence of civilisation and Christianisation. Aboriginals, on the contrary, were prevented from returning to their families because of the negative influence the tribes could have on the newly civilised and Christianised children. In settlers' journals of Australia, the idea of failure is more present than in settlers' journals of New Zealand, which is paradoxical because as we have seen, the early schools closed in the two colonies approximately at the same time and for the same reasons: a tense context, lack of attendance and of funding. This different perception of the results of the educational policies shows the influence of racial prejudices against the Aboriginals in settlers' minds. This also proves how biased the sources are, even if their writers were not always aware of it. For

example, the sources on infanticide are less than reliable and the whole discourse of settlers was used to justify the saving of children's bodies, by placing them away from the threat their families represented. Such sources therefore needed to be treated with caution in this study, taking into account the following questions: what is the purpose of the writer, to denounce or to represent? Who is he/she writing for? What is his/her background, by what is he/she influenced? The study of the saving of children makes it possible to reflect on the purpose and the methods of an analytical historical essay and the necessity to question primary sources.

Settlers' accounts spread the idea that the saving of children was an absolute necessity and the whole idea of this humanitarian "saving" was used to justify interventionism from colonial actors. The teaching of children and their bringing into the right faith was more than the noble purpose of their saving, it was a way of controlling Indigenous populations who were starting to become minorities in their own countries. As Welch argued, the teaching of children in industrial skills and their removal from "incompetent" tribes and parents was part of the process of "internal colonialism" which was to make Aboriginals, and by extension Maoris, accept their supposed inferiority in front of the Europeans. On the notion of destruction of Aboriginals and Maoris cultures, the settlers made few comments, it was at best perceived as a necessary lesser evil in the spread of Christianity and civilisation, at worst completely ignored. However, as we have seen, one of the main consequences in the "saving" of children's bodies, minds and souls was the destruction of Maoris and Aboriginals, cultures, social organisation, sometimes languages (in the case of Aboriginals) and traditional spiritual beliefs, which needed to be disregarded and even destroyed so that the Indigenous could fully embrace civilisation and Christianity. The removal of children was a tool of this destruction because they could not receive the education provided by their tribes which transmitted orally ancestral knowledge. A "hiatus" was created in Maori and Aboriginal educations.

Taken from our modern perspective, this destructive process of inculcating a new religion and new knowledge justified by the idea of "saving" and assimilation of children could be associated with a process of cultural genocide. As Lemkin argued, a genocide cannot be reduced to the physical aspects of mass murders, it is also culturally destructive. This paradox of this destructive saving of children put into practice by "barbarous" or inhuman policies is put forward by Robert van Krieken who argued that

> At the time, these policies and practices were constructed by most observers as contributing to the 'welfare' of Australian Aborigines, and this intersection of welfare and violence raises the possibility that civilization and decivilization, rather than being different processes which may or may not run alongside each

> other, interpenetrate each other so that, under certain circumstances, societies are 'barbaric' precisely in their movement towards increasing civilization.[290]

The line between 'savage' and 'civilised', so clear in Angas' journals, is blurred by such analysis, each of the adjectives depending on the point of view of the colonised or the colonisers. We can argue that in the case of New Zealand and Australia, the removal of children caused a cultural genocide, because it prevented the transmission of Maori and Aboriginal cultures. However, a form of adaption can be seen in the case of New Zealand, by the mingling of Christian beliefs with Maori beliefs. In the light of recent discoveries in Canada, where the bodies of Indigenous children were found next to a governmental school, it would seem that there is further work to be done in revealing, and coming to terms with, the destructive, coercive nature of colonial attempts to 'save' Maori and Aboriginal children.

[290] van Krieken, R. "The barbarism of civilization: cultural genocide and the 'stolen generations'". *The British Journal of Sociology*, 50, 1999, 297-315. https://doi-org.buadistant.univ-angers.fr/10.1111/j.1468-4446.1999.00297.x

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Table of illustrations

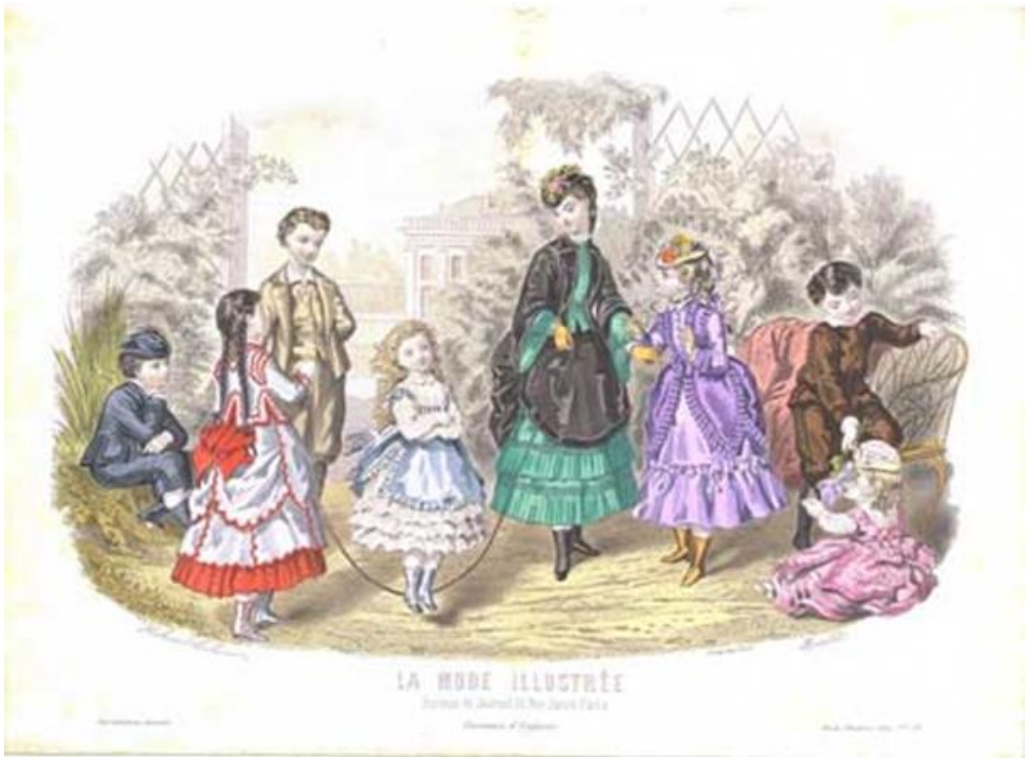

image 1: Example of European children's clothes in the 19th century taken from the magazine *La Mode Illustrée.*

An Ordinance for promoting the Education of Youth in the Colony of New Zealand.

Whereas it is fitting that provision be made for promoting the education of youth in the colony of New Zealand; be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

1. It shall be lawful for the Governor for the time being, with the advice of the Executive Council, out of the public funds of the colony, to establish and maintain schools for the education of youth, and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established, as he shall from time to time see occasion.

2. Every such school shall be subject to inspection in manner hereinafter provided.

3. In every school to be established or supported by public funds, under the provisions of this ordinance, religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language, shall form a necessary part of the system to be pursued therein; but in order to provide for the instruction of the children of parents dissenting from the religious doctrines to be taught in any such school, such children as shall attend the same as day-scholars only, may, upon application to be made in that behalf by their parents or guardians, be taught therein without being instructed in the doctrines of religion.

4. Every such school shall be placed under the superintendence and management of such one of the persons named or referred to in the Schedule hereunto annexed, as the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council shall in the case of each such school especially direct.

5. The teachers of every such school shall be appointed by the person under whose superintendence and management the same shall respectively be placed as aforesaid, and shall be removeable by him at pleasure.

6. In order to secure the efficiency of schools, to be supported by public funds, every such school shall be inspected once at least in every year, by an inspector or inspectors to be for that purpose appointed by his Excellency the Governor.

7. As soon as conveniently may be after the inspection of any such schools, such inspector or inspectors shall make a report in writing to the Governor for the time being, setting forth the name or description of such school, the number of children educated therein, the funds out of which the same may be supported, and the amount thereof respectively, the salaries paid to the teachers thereof, and the yearly cost incurred for the support and education of each pupil maintained therein, and shall also report upon the discipline and management of the school, the nature and extent of the industrial instruction pursued therein, the attainments of the children, and the state of the school generally as regards its efficiency.

image 2: extract of the New Zealand Education Ordinance of 1847, which promoted industrial education. Ross Calman, 'Māori education – mātauranga - Missionaries and the early colonial period', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/34874/education-ordinance-1847 (accessed 16 June 2021)

NEW ZEALAND,

ANNO VICESIMO PRIMO ET VICESIMO SECUNDO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ,

No. 65.

ANALYSIS:

AN ACT to grant the annual sum of Seven thousand Pounds for a term of Seven Years from the 30th June, 1858, in aid of Schools for the education of the Aboriginal Native Race. Title.

[21st *August*, 1858.]

image 3: Preamble of The Native Schools Act of 1858.

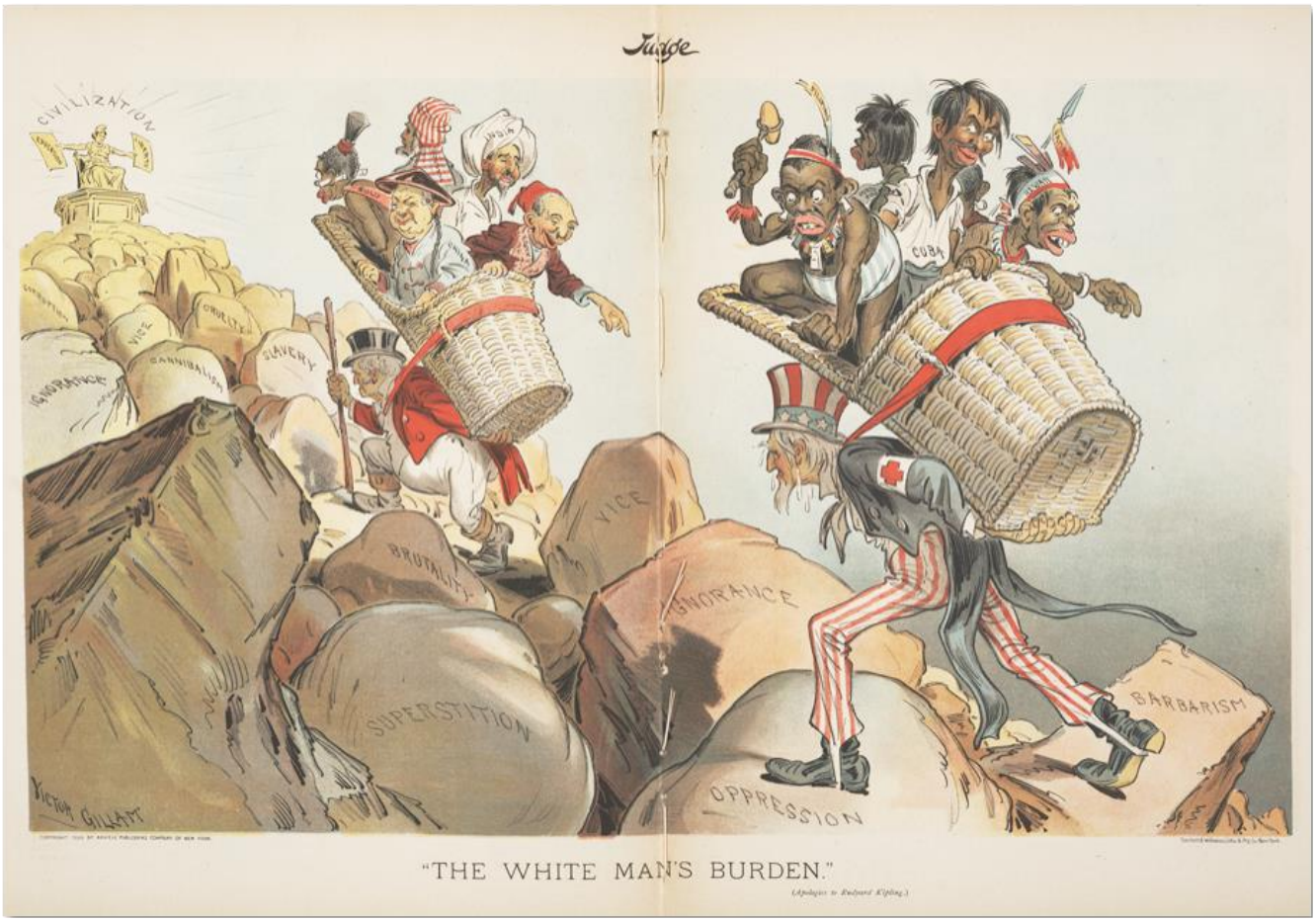

image 4: Victor Gillam's illustration of the White man's Burden by Kipling (1899).

RÉSUMÉ

Ce mémoire a pour but de repérer et d'expliquer les différences entre l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande dans les politiques coloniales concernant le « sauvetage » des enfants maoris et aborigènes. Ce sauvetage forme une trinité qui fait écho à la forte présence de la religion dans les journaux de colons, souvent eux-mêmes croyants et impliqués dans la vie religieuse des colonies. La première branche de cette trinité est celle du sauvetage le plus « matériel », le sauvetage littéral des enfants, de leurs corps de leurs vies de la menace que représentent leurs parents ; la seconde est celle du sauvetage de leurs esprits par l'éducation laïque et l'initiation au travail manuel et la troisième est la plus élevée, elle est rendue possible par les politiques justifiées par les deux autres branches : il s'agit du sauvetage de l'âme. Ces différentes facettes du sauvetage des enfants en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande entre les années 1830 et 1860 se répondent, se complètent, et parfois se chevauchent et entrent en concurrence. Cette concurrence se marque par l'opposition des acteurs coloniaux, comme les missionnaires et les partisans d'une école plus laïque dirigée par le gouvernement. Les préjudices racistes et raciaux ont mené à différents politiques dans les deux colonies étudiées. Nous verrons les conséquences de ces préjudices et de leur application dans les politiques locales (comme le placement des enfants dans des écoles résidentielles éloignées de leurs parents). La conséquence première de ce « sauvetage » est la même dans les deux colonies : la destruction des cultures et savoirs aborigènes et maoris. Toutefois, dans cette destruction, une forme d'adaptation, une survivance des traditions indigènes est perceptible dans l'appropriation de la religion chrétienne par les Maoris.

mots-clés : assimilation, école de missionnaires, infanticide, protection, interventionnisme, christianisation, Aborigènes d'Australie, Maori, ethnocide

ABSTRACT

The aim of this essay is to perceive and explain the differences between Australia and New Zealand in the colonial policies related to the "saving" of Maori and Aboriginal children. This saving can be shaped as a trinity, which echoes the heavily religious dimension of settlers' accounts, who were often believers and sometimes directly implicated in the religious life of the colonies. The first dimension of the saving of children is the literal saving of their bodies, their lives from the threat represented by their parents and infanticide. The second dimension is the saving of children's minds by secular education and the teaching of manual skills. The last dimension of this saving is the highest and it is made possible by the policies which were rendered necessary by the two other dimensions: it is the saving of children's souls. These different facets of the saving of children in Australia and New Zealand between the 1840s and the 1870s echo one another, complement one another and sometimes clash and compete with one another. This competition is perceptible by the opposition of colonial actors (like between the missionaries and those who advocated for a more secular schooling under the responsibility of the governments). The racist and racial prejudices led to different policies in each of the studied colonies. We will study the consequences of these prejudices and of their application in local policies (like the placement of children in residential schools far from the influence of their parents). The main consequence of this saving is the same in both colonies: the destruction of Maori and Aboriginal cultures and knowledge. However, in this destruction, a form of adaptation or a survivance of traditional Indigenous beliefs is perceptible in the appropriation and adaptation of Christianity by the Maoris.

keywords : assimilation, missionary school, infanticide, protection, interventionism, Christianisation, Australian Aboriginal, Maori, ethnocide

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